

— F. A. Desmouches. 1828. —

F. Frank Thompson, on the back to

20. April. 1910. 10. 100 ft. alt.

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THE HISTORY OF THE SABBATH.

IN TWO BOOKEs.

BY
P. E. T. HEYLYN.

DEVT. 32. 7.
Remember the dayes of old, consider the yees of many Generations: aske thy Father, and hee will shew thee; thy Elders, and they will tell thee.



L O N D O N ,
Printed for *Henry Seile*, and are to bee sold at the
Signe of the Tygers-head in Saint Pauls
Church-yard. 1636.



TO THE MOST
HIGH AND MIGHTIE
PRINCE,
CHARLES,

By the Grace of God, King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c.

Most dread Soveraigne,



Our Maiesties
most Christian
care to suppreſſe
those rigours,
which ſome, in
maintenance of
their Sabbath-
Doctrines, had preſſed upon this
Church, in theſe latter dayes; iuſtly
A 3 deserves

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deserves to be recorded amongst the principall Monuments of your zeale and pietie. Of the two great and publike enemies of Gods holy Wor-ship, althcugh prophanenesse, in it selfe, be the more offensive; yet superftition is more spreading, and more quicke of growth. In such a Church as this, so settled in a con-stant practise of Religious Offices, and so confirmed by godly Canons, for the performance of the same: there was no feare, that ever the Lords Day, (the day appointed by Gods Church for his publike service) would have beene over-runne by the prophane neglect of any pious duties, on that day required. Rather the danger was, lest by the violent torrent of some mens affecti-ons, it might have beene ore-flowne

by

Dedicatore.

by those superstitions; wherewith, in imitation of the Iewes, they be-gan to charge it: and thereby made it farre more burdensome to their christian Brethren, than was the Sabbath to the Israelites, by the Law of Moses. Nor know wee where they would have staid, had not your Maiestie been pleased, out of a tender care of the Churches safetie, to give a checke to their pro-ceedings; in licencing on that day, those Lawfull Pastimes, which some, without authority from Gods Word, or from the practise of Gods Church, had of late restrained. Yet so it is, your Maiesties most pious, and most Christian purpose, hath not found answerable entertainment; especi-ally amongst those men, who have so long dreamt of a Sabbath day, that

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now they will not be perswaded, that it is a Dreame. For the awakening of the which, and their reduction to more sound and sensible counsailes, (next to my duty to Gods Church, and your sacred Maiestie) have I applyed my selfe to compose this Story; wherein I doubt not but to shew them, how much they have deceiued both themselves and others, in making the old Lewish Sabbath, of equall age and observation with the Law of Nature; and preaching their new Sabbath doctrines in the Church of Christ, with which the church hath no acquaintance; wherein I doubt not but to shew them, that by their obstinate resolution, not to make publication of your Maiesties pleasure, they tacitely condonne, not onely all the Fathers

of

Dedicatore.

of the primitive times, the learned Writers of all Ages, many most godly Kings and Princes of the former dayes, and not few Councells of chiefe note, and of faith unquesti- onable: but even all states of Men, Nations, and Churches, at this present, whom they most esteeme. This makes your Maiesties inter- est so particular in this present Hi- storie, that were I not obliged unto your Maiestie in any neerer bond, than that of every common Subiect; it could not be devoted unto any o- ther, with so iust propriety. But being it is the Worke of your Maiesties servant, and in part, fashi- oned at those times; which by your Maiesties leave, were borrowed from attendance on your sacred per- son; your Maiesty hath also all the rights

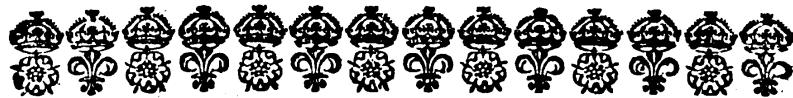
The Epistle, &c.

rights unto it, of a Lord, and Master. So that according to that Maxime of the civill Lawes, *Quodcunq; perservum acquiritur, id domino acquirit tuo;* your Majestie hath as absolute power to dispose therof, as of the Author: who is,

Dread Soveraigne,

Your Majesties most obedient Subject, and most faithfull Servant,

PET: HEVLYN:



A PREFACE

To them, who being themselves mistaken, have misguided others, in these new Doctrines of the Sabbath.



Out of any humour or desire of being in action, or that I love to have my hands in any of those publike quarrels, wherewith our peace hath beene disturbed: but that posteritie might not say, we have beene wanting, for our parts, to your information, and the direction of Gods people in the wayes of truth; have I adventured on this Story. A Story which shall represent unto you the constant practise of Gods Church in the present busines, from the Creation to these daies: that so you may the better see, how you are gone astray from the paths of truth, and tendries of Antiquity, and from the present judgement of all Men and Churches. The Arguments whereto you trust, and upon seeming strength whereof you have beene emboldned to presse these *Sabbatarian Doctrines* upon the consciences of poore people, I purpose not to meddle with in this Discourse. *Ἄντε γε συνέστησεν ὑπερηφανία.* They have beene elsewhere throughly canvassed, and all those seeming strengths beaten downe;

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downe, by which you were your selves misguided; and by the which you have since wrought on the affections of unlearned men, or such at least, that judged not of them by their weight, but by their numbers. But where you give it out, as in *matter of fact*, how that the *Sabbath* was ordained by *God in Paradise*, and kept accordingly by all the *Patriarkes*, before *Moses* time; or otherwise ingraft by *nature* in the soule of man, and so in use also amongst the *Gentiles*: in that, I have adventured to let men see, that you are very much mistaken, and tellus things directly contrary unto *truth of Story*. Next, where it is the ground-worke of all your building, that the *Commandement of the Sabbath*, is *morall, naturall, and perpetuall*; as punctually to be observed, as any other of the first or second Table: I doubt not but it will appeare by this following *History*, that it was never so esteemed of by the *Iewes* themselves; no not when as the observation of the same, was most severely pressed upon them by the *Law and Prophets*, nor when the day was made most burdensome unto them, by the *Scribes and Pharisees*. Lastly, whereas you make the *Lords day* to be an institution of our *Saviour Christ*, confirmed by the *continuall usage of the holy Apostles*, and both by him and them imposed, as a *perpetuall ordinance*, on the *Christian church*; making your selves beleeve, that so it was observed in the times before, as you have taught us to observe it in these latter dayes: I have made manifest to the world, that there is no such matter

to

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to be found at all, either in any writings of the *Apostles*, or monument of true *Antiquity*, or in the practise of the middle or the present *Churches*: What said I, of the present *Churches*? so I said indeed; and doubt not but it will appeare so in this following *Storie*: the present *Churches*, all of them, both *Greeke and Latin*, together with the *Protestants* of what name soever, being farre different, both in their *Doctrine* and their *practice*, from these new conceptions. And here I cannot chuse but note, that whereas those who first did set on foot these *Doctrines*, in all their other practices to subvert this *Church*, did beare themselves continually on the authority of *Calvin*, and the example of those *Churches*, which came most neare unto the *Plat-forme of Geneva*: in these their *Sabbath-speculations*, they had not onely none to follow; but they found *Calvin*, and *Geneva*, and those other *Churches*, directly contrary unto them. However in all other matters, they cryed up *Calvin* and his writings, *making his Bookes the very Canon*, to which both *Discipline* and *Doctrine* was to be Hooker in his Preface. confirmed: yet *hic magister non tenetur*, here by his leave they would forfake him, and leave him fairely to himselfe; that they themselves might have the glory of a *new invention*.

For you my Brethren, and beloved in our *Lord and Saviour*, as I doe willingly beleeve, that you have entertain'd these *reets* upon *misperfaction*, not out of any ill intentions to the *Church*, your Mother; and that it is an error in your judgements onely, nor of your affections: so upon that

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that beliefe, have I spared no paines, as much as in me is, to remove that error, and rectifie what is amisse in your opinion. I hope you are not of those men, *Quos non persuaderis, etiam si persuaseris*, who either hate to be reformed; or have so farre espoused a quarrell, that neither truth nor reason, can divorce them from it. Nor would I gladly you should be of their resolutions, *Qui volunt id verum esse quod credunt, nolunt id credere quod verum est*; who are more apt to thinke all true which themselves beleieve, than be perswaded to beleieve such things as are true indeed. In confidence whereof, as I was first induced to compose this *Histerie*; so in continuance of those hopes, I have presumed to addresse it to you, to tender it to your perusal, and to submit it to your censure: that if you are not better furnished, you may leare from hence, that you have trusted more unto other men, than you had just reason. It is my chiefe endcavour, as it is my prayer, that possibly I may behold *Ierusalem in prosperity, all my life long*. Nor doubt I by the grace of God, to reduce some of you at the least, to such conformity with the *prestige* of the *Catholicke Church*; that even your hands may also labour in the advancement and promotion of that full prosperity, which I so desire. This that I may the better doe, I shall present you, as I said, with the true story of the *Sabbath*; and therin lay before youre eyes, both what the *Doctrine* was, and what the *pradise*, of all former times; and how it stands in both respects, with all *Gods Chyrches*, at this present. First, for

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the *Sabbath*, I shall shew you, that it was not *instituted* by the *Lord* in *Paradise*, nor naturally imprinted in the soule of man, nor ever kept by any of the *antient Fathers*, before *Moses* time: and this, not generally said, and no more but so; but proved particularly and successively, in a continued descent of times and men. Next, that being given unto the *Ierkes* by *Moses*, it was not so *observed* or reckned of, as any of the *morall precepts*; but sometimes kept, and sometimes not; according as mens private busynesses, or the necessities of the state, might give way unto it: and finally was for ever abrogated, with the other *ceremonies*, at the destruction of the *Temple*. As for the *Gentiles* all this while, it shall hereby appeare, that they tooke no more notice of it, (except a little, at the latter end of the *Jewish State*) than to deride both it, and all them that kept it. Then for the *Lords day*, that it was not *instituted* by our *Saviour Christ*, commanded by the *Apostles*, or ordained first by any other *authority*, than the *voluntary consecration* of it, by the *Church*, to *religious uses*: and being *consecrated* to those uses, was not *advanced* to that *esteeme*, which it now enjoyes, but *leisurely* and by *degrees*, partly by the *Edicts* of *secular Princes*, partly by *Canons* of *particular Councils*, and finally by the *Decretals* of severall *Popes*, and *orders* of *inferior Prelates*: and being so advanced, is *subject* still, as many *Protestant Doctors* lay, to the *Authority* of the *Church*, to be *retained*, or *changed*, as the *Church* thinkes fit. Finally, that in all *ages* heretofore, and

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and in all *Churches* at this present, it neither was nor is esteemed of as a *Sabbath day*: nor reckned of so neere a kin to the former *Sabbath*, but that at all such leisure times, as were not destinate by the *Church* to *Gods publike service*; men might apply their mindes and bestow their thoughts, either about their *busynesses*, or upon their *pleasures*, such as are *lawfull* in themselves, and not prohibited by those powers, under which they lived. Which shewed and manifestly proved unto you, I doubt not but those *paper-walls*, which have bee raised heretofore to defend these *Doctrines*, how faire soever they may seeme to the outward eye, and whatsoeuer colours have bee laid upon them; will in the end appeare unto you to be but *paper-walls* indeed: some beaten downe by the report onely of those many *Canons*, which have successively beeene mounted in the *Church* of *God*; either to fortifie the *Lords day*, which it selfe did institute, or cast downe those *Jewish fancies*, which some had laboured to restore. Such passages as occurred concerning *England*, I purposely have deferred till the two last Chapters, that you may looke upon the actions of our *Ancestours*, with a clearer eye: both those who liued at the first *planting of Religion*; and those who had so great an hand, in the *reforming* of the same. And yet not looke upon them only, but by comparing your *new Doctrines*, with those which were delivered in the former times; your *severe practice*, with the *innocent libertie* which they used amongst them: you may the better see your errors,

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errors, and what *strange incense* you have offered in the *Church of God*. A way, in which I have the rather made chiole to walke; that by the practice of the *Church in generall*, you may the better judge of those *Texts of Scripture*, which seeme to you to speake in the behalfe of that *new Divinitie*, which you have preached unto the people: and by the practice of this *Church* particularly, it may with greater ease be shewed you, that you did never sucke these *Doctrines* from your *Machers breasts*.

It is an observation as it were in *Law*; that *Custom* is the best interpreter of a *doubtfull statute*; and wee are lesson'd thereupon, to cast our eyes, in all such questionable matters, unto the *practice* of the *state* in the *selfe-same case*: *Si de interpretatione legis queritur, imprimis inspicendum est, quo jure ea confut.* De legib. & law. *civitas retro in hujusmodi casibus usus fuit: Consueto enim optima interpretatio legi est.* If you submit unto this rule, and stand unto the *plea* which you oft have made: I verily perswade my selfe that you will quickly finde your error; and that withall you will discover, how to abet a new and dangerous *Doctrine*, you have deserted the whole practise of the *Christian Church*, which for the space of 1600. yeeres, hath been embraced and followed by all godly men. These are the hopes which we project unto our selves: The cause of this our undertaking, was your *information*; and the chiefe end we aime at is your *reformation*: Your selves, my Brethren, and your good, if I may procure it, are the occasion and the *recompence* of these poore endevors;

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endeavors; ypreaching, & conuictiōn, in the Poet language. I hold with you A. b. to think the world would be greate shame to any blamē to your reputation, should you deserte a cause, which with so vehement affections you have erst maintained; or that the world would censure you of too desperate folly, should you re-tract, what you have either taught or written, in the times before. Rather the world and all good men, shall praise both your integrity, and ingenuity, in that you thinkē it no disparagement to seek the best means to be rid of you, when ever you find it. Being men, conceive it not impossible, but that you may be in an error; and having erred thinkē it your greatest misery, that you are con-querred by the truth: which being mighty will preuale, and either here or elsewhere, enforce all of us to confess, the great powders thereto. S. M. and the Cardinall, two great Clerkes as almoſt any in their times, haſt hore in ſhewed the way unto you; one in his Recorſations, the other in his Recognitioſ: and did never turne un-til their disgrace. Therefore abandoning all ſuſh word conſpirites, and enemities unto the Truth, which I trauay you ſeek, and above all things wiſh to finde: let me beſeech you to paſſeſſe your ſoule with deſire of knoƿledge, and that you would not ſhut your eyes againſt the wondre of those truths, which either here or elsewhere are preſented to you, for your information. Which that you may the better doe, I doe aduise you in the name, and for the sake of this Churche to lay aside all

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all prejudice, which possibly you may be poſſeſſed withall, either in reference to the Argument, or unto the Author: and to peruse this following Storie, with as much ſingleness of heart, and deſire of truth, and invocation of Gods ſpirit to finde out the ſame; as was by me uſed in the writing of it. It is your welfare which I aime at, as before was ſaid; your reſtitution to your functions, and reconciliation to the Churche, from which you are at point of falling: that wee with you, and you with us, laying aside those jealousies and diſtructs, which commonly attend on diuided minds; may joyne our hearts and hands together for the advancement of Gods Honour, and the Churches peace. And God even ouerme God, ſhall give to his bleſſing: and to no man but him be alwayes due this

For others which ſhall reade this Storie, whether by you misguded, or yet left entir; I doe deſire them to take notice, that there is none ſo much a ſtranger to good ares and learning, whom in this caſe and kind of writing, I dare not truſt with the full cognizance of the cauſe herein re-lated. In points of Law, when as the matter ſeemeſ to be above the wit of common persons; or o-therwife is ſo involved and intricate, that there hath beene no Precedent thereof in former times: it is put off to a demurſer, and argued by my Lords the judges, with their best maturite of delibera-tion. But in a matter of fact, we put our ſelves upon an ordinary Iurie, not doubting, if the evi-dence prove faire, the witnesss of faith unqueſti-oned, and the Records without ſuſpition of im- poſture,

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posture, but they will doe their conscience, and finde for Plaintiff or Defendant, as she cause appears. So in the businesse now in hand, that part thereof which consisteth of argument, and strength of disputation, in the examining of those reasons which Pro or Con have been alledged; are by me left to be discussed and weighed by them, who either by their place are called, or by their learning are inable to so great a businesse. But for the point of practice, which is matter of fact, how long it was, before the Sabbath was commanded, and how it was observed, being once commanded; how the Lords day hath stood in the Christian Church, by what authority first instituted, in what kind regardeth those things are offered to the judgement and consideration of the meanest Reader. No man that is to be returned on the present Jury, but may be able to give up his verdict, touching the title now in question, unless hee come with passion, and so will not heare, or else with prejudice and so will not value, the evidence which is produced for his information. For my part, I shall deale ingenuously, as the cause requires, as of swome counsele to the truth; not using any of the mysteries or Arts of pleading, but as the holy Fathers of the Church, the learned Writers of all Ages, the most renowned Divines of these latter times, and finally as the publicke Monuments and Records of most Nations christened have furnished me in this enquirie. What these, or any of them have herein either said, or done, or otherwise left upon the Register

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ster for our direction, I shall lay downe in order, in their severall times; either the times in which they lived, or whereof they writ: that so we may the better see the whole succession both of the doctrine, and the practise of Gods Church, in the present businesse. And this with all integritie and sincere proceeding, not making use of any Author, who hath been probably suspected of fraud or forgery; nor dealing otherwise in this search, than as becomes a man who aims at nothing more than Gods publike service, and the condueting of Gods people in the wayes of truth. This is the summe of what I had to say in this present Preface; beseeching God, the God of truth, yea the truth it selfe, to give us a right understanding, and a good will to doe thereafter.



SYLLABVS CAPITVM.

PAIRT. I.

CHAP. I. That the Sabbath was not instituted in the beginning of the world.

(1) The entrance to the worke in hand. (2) That those words Gen. 2. And God blessed the seventh day, &c. are there delivered as by way of Anticipation. (3) Anticipations in the Scripture confessed by them, who denie it here. (4) Anticipations of the same nature not strange in Scripture. (5) No Law imposed by God, on Adam, touching the keeping of the Sabbath. (6) The Sabbath not ingrafe by nature, in the soule of man. (7) The greatest Advocates for the Sabbath, denie it to be any part of the law of nature. (8) Of the morality and perfection supposed to be in the number of seven, by some learned men. (9) That other numbers in the confession of the same learned men, particularly the first, third, and fourth, are both as morall and as perfect, as the seventh. (10) The like is proved of the sixth, eighth, and tenth, and of other numbers. (11) The Scrip-

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Scriptures not more favorable to the number of seven, than they are to others. (12) Great caution to be used by those, who love to recreate themselves in the mysteries of numbers.

CHAP. II.

That there was no Sabbath kept, from the Creation to the Flood.

(1) Gods rest upon the seventh day, and from what he rested. (2) Zanchius conceit touching the sanctifying of the first seventh day by Christ our Saviour. (3) The like of Torniellus, touching the sanctifying of the same, by the Angels in heaven. (4) A generall demonstration that the Fathers before the Law, did not keepe the Sabbath. (5) Of Adam, that hee keept not the Sabbath. (6) That Abel and Seth did not keepe the Sabbath. (7) Of Enos, that hee keept not the Sabbath. (8) That Enoch and Methusalem did not keepe the Sabbath. (9) Of Noah, that hee keept not the Sabbath. (10) The Sacrifices and devotions of the Ancients were occassionall.

CHAP. III.

That the Sabbath was not kept from the Flood to Moses.

(1) The Sonnes of Noah did not keepe the Sabbath. (2) The Sabbath could not have beeene kept, in the dispersion of Noahs sonnes, had it beeene commanded. (3) Diversitie of Longitudes and Latitudes, most of necessitie make a variation in the Sabbath.

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bath. (4) Melchisedech, Heber, Lot, did not keepe the Sabbath. (5) Of Abraham and his sonnes, that they kept not the Sabbath. (6) That Abraham did not keepe the Sabbath, in the confession of the Jewes. (7) Jacob nor Job no Sabbath-keepers. (8) That neither Iacob, Ioseph, nor the Israelites in Ægypt, did observe the Sabbath. (9) The Israelites not permitted to offer sacrifice, while they were in Ægypt. (10) Particular proofes that all the morall Law was both knowne and kept amongst the Fathers.

CHAP. IV.

The nature of the fourth Commandement: and that the Sabbath was not kept amongst the Gentiles.

(1) The Sabbath first made knowne in the fall of Manah, (2) The giving of the Decalogue, and how farre it bindeth. (3) That in the judgment of the Fathers in the Christian Church, the fourth Commandement is of a different nature from the other nine. (4) The Sabbath was first given, for a Law, by Moses. (5) And being given, was proper onely to the Iewes. (6) What moved the Lord to give the Israelites a Sabbath. (7) Why the seventh day was rather chosen for the Sabbath, than any other. (8) The seventh day not more honoured by the Gentiles, than the eighth or ninth. (9) The Aterina Argument that they kept the Sabbath. (10) The Iewes desirous for their Sabbath, by the Grecians, Romans,

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Romans, and Ægyptians. (11) The division of the yeere into weekes, not generally used, of old, amongst the Gentiles.

CHAP. V.

The practise of the Iewes in such observances, as were annexed unto the Sabbath.

(1) Of some particular adjuncts affixed unto the Iewish Sabbath. (2) The Annuall Festivals called Sabbathes in the Booke of God, and reckned as a part of the fourth Commandement. (3) The Annuall Sabbathes no lesse solemnly observed and celebrated, than the weeklye were; if not more solemnly. (4) Of the Parasceve or Preparation to the Sabbath, and the solemn Festivals. (5) All manner of worke, as well prohibited on the Annuall, as the weeklye Sabbathes. (6) What things were lawfull to bee done on the Sabbath dayes. (7) Touching the prohibition of not kindling fire, and not dressing meat. (8) What moved the Gentiles generally to charge the Iewes with fasting on the Sabbath day. (9) Touching this prohibition, Let no man goe out of his place on the Sabbath day. (10) All lawfull recreations, as dancing, feasting, man-like exercises, allowed and practised by the Iewes upon their Sabbaths.

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CHAP. VI.

Touching the observation of the Sabbath, unto
the time, the people were established
in the promised Land.

(1) The Sabbath was kept constantly during the time the people wandered in the wilderness. (2) Of him that gathered sticks on the Sabbath day. (3) wherein the sanctifying of the Sabbath did consist, in the time of Moses. (4) The Law not ordered to be reade in the Congregation, every Sabbath day. (5) The sacke of Hiericho, and the destruction of that people was upon the Sabbath. (6) No Sabbath after this without Circumcision; and how that ceremonie could consist with the Sabbath's rest. (7) what moved the Iewes to preferre Circumcision before the Sabbath. (8) The standing still of the Sunne in the prayers of Joshua, &c. could not but make some alteration about the Sabbath. (9) what was the Priests worke on the Sabbath day; and whether at night should with the Sabbath's rest. (10) The scattering of the Levites over all the Tribes, had no relation unto the reading of the Law, on the Sabbath day.

CHAP. VII.

Touching the keeping of the Sabbath, from the time of David to the Macchabees.

(1) Particular necessities must give place to the Law of Nature. (2) That Davids flight from Saul,

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or his Apostles: but instituted by the authority of
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make it not a Sabbath. (5) The coming downe of
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stians of these Ages used to pray, standing on the Lords
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these Ages heard of, either on Saturday, or Sunday: and how it stood with Saturday, in the Easterne Churches, &c. 1641. 2000. 1. 11. 20. 30. 1.

Wardrobe, the form of which was not receding.

CHAPTER VI.

What is the judgement of the Schoole-men, and of
the Professors, and what the practise of those
who labour in the Churches in this Land, day
and night, in the service of God?

جَلَّ ذِكْرُهُ وَكَانَتْ مُنْتَهِيَّةً بِهِ الْمُرْكَبُ

(1) That in the judgment of the School Board the

(1) That in the judgement of the Schoole-men, the keeping of one day in seven, is not the morall part of the 4. Commandment: (2) an also that the Lords day is not founded on divine authority, but the authority of the Church. (3) A Catalogue of the holy dayes drawn up in the Councill of Lyons: and the new doctrine of the Schooles, touching the naturall sanctie of the holy dayes. (4) In what estate the Lords day stood, in matter of restraint from labour, at the Reformation. (5) The Reformatours finde great fault both with the said new doctrine, and restraints

on labour. (6) That in the judgement of the Pri-

testant Divines, the fortifying of one day in seven

is not the moral part of the 4th Commandment. (7)

As we see that the words *day* *hath* no other ground, on
which we stand, let us take up this side. This

(8) And what the Church has, she may lawfully give.

¶. 144. THAT THE CHURCH HATH POWER TO CHANGE THE DAY, AND TO TRANSFERRE IT TO SOME OTHER, AND TO IN-

and to transfer it to some others. (9) What is the practice of the Roman burghers; and this will

Calvinian Churches on the Lord's day.

devotion, rest from labour, and sufferance of lawfull

pleasure. (10) Dancing cryed downe by Calvin and

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Britaine, from the first planting of Religion
to the Reformation.

(1) what doth occurr about the Lords day, and the other Festivals, amongst the Churches of the Britans. (2) Of the estate of the Lords day, and the other holy dayes in the Saxon Heptarchies. (3) The hours done unto the Sunday, and the other holydaies, by the Saxon Monarchs. (4) Of publicke actions, civil, Ecclesiastical, mixt, and military, done on the Lords day under the first five Norman Kings. (5) New Sabbath doctrines broached in England in King Johns reigne; and the miraculous originall of the same. (6) The persecution of the former Story, and ill successse therein of the undertakers. (7) Restrainte of worldly busynesse on the Lords day, and the other holy dayes, admitted in these times in Scotland. (8) Restraint of certaine servile workes on Sundayes, holy dayes, and the Wakes, concluded in the Counsell of Oxon under King Henry 3. (9) Husbandrie and legall processe prohibited on the Lords day, first, in the reigne of King Edward 3. (10) Setting of woolon the Lords day, and the solemn Feasts

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forbidden first by the said King Edward; as after, Faires, and Markets generally, by King Henry 6. (11) The Cordwainers of London restrained from selling of their wares on the Lords day, and some solemn feasts, by King Edward the 4. and the repealing of that Law by King Henry the 8. (11) In what estate the Lords day stood, both for the doctrine and the practise, in the beginning of the Reigne of the said King Henry.

Long since I have written a small history of the Sabbath, to give a general account of the Sabbath in England; but I have not yet published it.

CHAP. VIII.

The Story of the Lords day from the reformation of Religion in this Kingdome, till this present time.

(1) The Doctrine of the Lords day and the Sabbath delivered by severall Martyrs, conformably unto the judgement of the Protestants before remembred. (2) The Lords day, and the other holy dayes confessed by all this Kingdome, in the Court of Parliaments, to have no other ground than the authoritie of the Church. (3) The meaning and occasion of that clause in the Common Prayer Book, Lord have mercy upon us, &c. repeated at the end of the fourth Commandement. (4) That by the Queenes Injunctions, and the first Parliament of her reigne, the Lords day was not made for a Sabbath day. (5) The doctrine in the Homilies delivered, about the Lords day and the Sabbath. (6) The first and substance of that Notitie; and that it proves no Lords day Sabbath, but the contrary. (7) The first originall of all the Sabbath speculations in this Church of

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England;

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England; by whom, and for what cause invented. (8) Strange and most monstrous Paradoxes, preached on occasion of the former doctrines; and other effects thereof. (9) What care was taken of the Lords day in King James his Reigne; the spreading of the former doctrines; and of the Articles of Ireland. (10) The Jewish Sabbath set on foot: and of King James his Declaration about lawfull sports on the Lords day. (11) What tracts were writ and published in that Princes Reigne, in opposition of the Doctrines before remembred. (12) In what estate the Lords day and the other holy dayes have stood in Scotland, since the reformation of Religion in that Kingdome. (13) Statutes about the Lords day made in the Reigne of our dread Sovereigne now being, and the misconstruing of the same: his Majestie reviveth and enlargeth the Declaration of King James. (14) An exhortation to obedience unto his Majesties most Christian purpose, concludes this History.

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An Advertisement to the Reader, touching
the Errata.

That the Errata of this Booke, are growne unto so great a number, is neither novum crimen, nor inauditum. We may with farre more ease complaine thereof, than we can amend it: yet for the present I have taken the best care I could, although not to prevent, yet to correct them. Such as are merely literall, or no impediment to the sense, are left unto the Readers care, and ingenuity. The rest, the Greeke alone excepted, (which both for accent and for letter, hath beene exceeding much mistaken) are here collected to thy hand; and are these that follow. viz.

P A R T . I.

P. 8. l. 14 r. I deny not. p. 9 l. 27 r. narratione. p. 10 l. 34 r. posivum. p. 13 l. 20 r. Ames. p. 16 l. 25 r. for which r. what. p. 19 l. 4 r. wherein Bodinus. p. 21 l. 2 r. multa. p. 23 l. 17 r. palliate their. p. 27 l. 29 del. faith. p. 31 l. 32 r. Sabbathaze. p. 32 l. 22 r. which doth. p. 37 r. present. p. 57 l. 36 r. dictated. p. 76 l. 31 r. notes it of every maneth. p. 83 l. 13 r. weekes. p. 94 l. 8 for one, r. on the. p. 95 l. 34 r. against Marcion. p. 104 in marg. r. In via sua. p. 114 l. 18 r. dedicated. p. 121 l. 26 r. Commonwealth. p. 135 l. 37 for the other, r. those. p. 139 r. Muschur. p. 147 l. 31 r. yet was it not. p. 161 l. 5 r. Tamuz. p. 177 l. 5 r. Load.

P A R T . 2.

Epistle l. 2 r. part. p. 12 l. 7 for as it is, r. who, as it ls. p. 13 l. 5 r. 900 Christus. p. 23 l. 9 del. ancient. p. 27 l. 37 r. from whom it seemes. p. 47 l. 21 r. decreeory ib. l. 25 r. neither for the. p. 49 l. 9 r. pinc ib. l. 17 del. But. p. 57 l. 5 r. the old use in. p. 58 l. 3 for nor, r. now. ib. l. 34 r. instituted by. ib. l. 35 r. in those. p. 62 l. 13 r. as not to. p. 66 l. 29 r. intituled. p. 69 l. 1 r. for evill, r. civil. ib. 11 r. runnes. ib. 19 20 for care, many, r. ceremony. p. 73 del. up. p. 73 l. 22 r. on wednesdays. p. 74 l. 31 l. Iudaiime. p. 75 l. 1 r. faire. p. 76 l. 11 r. for Romish, r. Iewish. ib. l. 23 r. contrived. ib. 34 for Two, r. To. p. 82 l. 17 for or, read on. ib. l. 28 r. followers. p. 88 l. 1 r. discreer behaviour. p. 91 l. 10 for Easter, r. Earth. p. 101 l. 10 r. possessed, ib. l. 23 r. fift Centurie. p. 107 l. 1 r. whereas that. p. 112 l. 34 del. that. p. 116 l. 4 r. wholly. p. 130 l. 31 for true, r. its true. p. 144 l. 34 r. Oviedo. p. 147 l. 20 r. Chartres. p. 175 l. 33 r. Ryers. p. 224 l. 13 r. envying. p. 226 l. 9 for now in, r. now at the first. p. 230 l. 37 r. clause. p. 253 r. on the lewes. p. 255 l. 35 r. the Musicians head. p. 258 l. 31 r. with as much violence. p. 260 l. 4 for or, r. on. p. 263 l. 11 r. goe backe a little. p. 265 l. 35 r. 360.

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
SABBATH.

THE FIRST BOOK.

From the Creation of the VVorld, to
the destruction of the Temple.

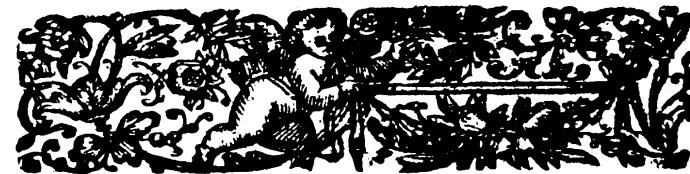
BY
P E T. H E Y L Y N.

EXOD. 31. 15, 16.

Wherefore the children of Israel shall keepe the Sabbath, to observe the Sabbath throughout their generations: it is a signe betweene mee and the children of Israel, for ever.



LONDON,
Printed for Henry Seile, and are to bee sold at the
Signe of the Tygers-head in Saint Pauls
Church-yard. 1636.



THE HISTORY OF THE SABBATH.

CHAP. I.

That the SABBATH was not instituted in the beginning of the World.

(1) The entrance to the worke in hand. (2) That those words, Genes. 2. And God blessed the seventh Day, &c. are there delivered, as by way of anticipation. (3) Anticipations in the Scripture confessed by them, who deny it here. (4) Anticipations of the same nature not strange in Scripture. (5) No Law imposed by God on Adam, touching the keeping of the Sabbath. (6) The Sabbath not ingraft by nature in the soule of man. (7) The greatest Advocates for the Sabbath, deny it to be any part of the Law of Nature. (8) Of the morality and perfection, supposed to be in the number of seven, by some learned men. (9) That other numbers in the confession of the same learned men, particularly the first, third, and fourth, are both as morall and as perfect as the seventh. (10) The like is proved of the sixth, eighth, and tenth; and of other numbers. (11) The Scripture not more favourable to the

the number of seven, then it is to others. (12) Great caution to be used by those, who love to recreate themselves in the mysteries of numbers.

(1)



Purpose by the grace of God to write an *History of the Sabbath*, and to make knowne what practically hath been done, therein, by the *Church of God*, in all ages past, from the *Creation* till this present: *Primaque ab origine mundi, ad mea perpetuum deducere tempora carmen. One day, as David tells us, teacheth another.* Nor can wee have a better schoolmaster in the things of God, then the continuall and most constant practice of those famous men, that have gone before us. An undertaking of great difficulty, but of greater profit. In which I will crave leave to say, as doth Saint *Austine*, in the entrance to his Books *de Civitate; Magnum opus & arduum, sed Deus est adiutor noster.* Therefore, most humbly begging the assistance of Gods holy Spirit to guide me in the way of truth, I shall apply my selfe to so great a worke; beginning with the first beginnings, and so continuing my discourse, successively, unto these times, wherein we live. In which no accident of note, as farre as I can discerne, shall passe unobserved, which may conduce to the discovery of the truth, and setting of the minds of men in a point so controverted. On therefore our *way* to the present busynesse. *In the beginning (saith the Text) God created the Heaven and the Earth.* Which being finished, and all the bosts of them made perfect, on the seventh day God ended his worke which he had made, and too rested on the seventh day from all his works which he had made. And then it followeth, *and God blessed the seventh day and sanctified it,*

Lib. I.c. I.

Gen. 2

sanctified it, because that in it hee had rested from all his worke, which God created and made. Vnto this passage of the text, and this point of time, some have referred the institution and originall of the Sabbath; taking these words to be a plain narration of a thing then done, according to that very time, wherein the Scripture doth report it: And that the *sanctifying of the seventh day* therein mentioned, was a Commandement given by God to our Father *Adam*, touching the *sanctifying of that day to his publick worship.* Conceiving also that there is some speciall *mystery and morality* in the number of *seven*, for which that day, and none but that, could be designed and set apart for this employment. Others and those the ancienter, and of more authority, conceive these words to have been spoken by a *Prolepsis or Anticipation*; and to relate unto the times wherein *Moses* wrote. And that it was an intimation onely of the reason why God imposed upon the *Jewes*, the *sanctifying rather of the seventh day*, then of any other: no precept to that purpose being given to *Adam* and to his posterity; nor any mystery in that number, why of it selfe it should be thought most proper for Gods publick service. The perfect stating of these points, will give great light to the following story. And therefore wee will first crave leave to remoove these doubts before we come to matter of fact, that afterwards I may proceed with the greater ease unto my self, and satisfaction to the Reader. The ground-worke or foundation laid, the building will be raysed the surer.

(2) And first it is conceived by many learned men, that *Moses* in the second of *Genesis* relates unto the times in the which hee lived, and wrote the History of the *Creation*: when God had now made known his holy will unto him, and the Commandement of the *Sabbath* had by his Ministry been delivered to the house of *Isract*. This is indeed the ancienter and more generall tendry, unanimously delivered both by *Jew* and *Christian*; and not so much as questioned til these later dayes. And how-

soever some ascribe it to *Tostatus*, as to the first inventor of it; yet is it ancienter farre then he: though were it so, it could not be denied, but that it had an able and a learned Author. A man, considering the times in which he lived, and the short time of life it pleased God to give him; that hardly ever had his equall. Its true, *Tostatus* thus resolves it. He makes this quare first, *Num Sabbathum cum à Deo sanctificatum fuerit in primordio mundi rerum, &c.* Whether the *Sabbath* being sanctified by God in the first infancy of the World, had beeene obserued of men, by the *Law of nature*. And thereunto returns this answere, *quod Deus non dederit preceptum illud de observatione Sabbati in principio, sed per Mosen datum est, &c.* That God commanded not the *Sabbath* to be sanctified in the beginning of the World, but that it was commanded afterwards by the *Law of Moses*; when God did publickly make known his will upon Mount *Sinai*. And that wheras the Scripture speaketh of *sanctifying the seventh day*, in the second of *Genesis*, it is not to be understood, as if the Lord did then appoint it, for his publick worship; but is to be referred unto the time wherein *Moses* wrote, which was in the Wildernes. *Et sic Moses intendebat dicere quod Deus illum diem sanctificavit sc. nobis, &c.* And so the meaning of the Prophet will be briefly this, that God did sanctifie that day, that is to us, to us that are his people of the house of *Jacob*, that we might consecrate it to his service. So farre *Tostatus*. In which I must confesse, that I see not any thing, but what *Iosephus* said before him, though in other words: who speaking of the Worlds Creation, doth conclude it thus, *Kαὶ τὸν κόσμον, &c.* So that *Moses* saith, that the World and all that is therein was made in six whole dayes and that upon the seventh day God took rest, and ceased from his labours. *Οὐαὶ καὶ οὐεὶς γολὺν ἀπὸ τῶν πονῶν καὶ ταῦτα ἀπορεῖ τὸν οὐεῖραν, &c.* By reason whereof wee likewise desist from travaille on that day, which we call the *Sabbath*, i. e. repose. So that the institution of the *Sabbath* by *Tostatus*; and the observation of it,

it, by *Iosephus*; are both of them referred, by their *us*, and *wee*, unto the times of *Moses*, and the house of *Israel*. Nor is *Iosephus* the only learned man amongst the *Jewes*, that so interpreteth *Moses* meaning *Solomon Iarchi*, one of the principall of the *Rabbins* speaks more exprefly to this purpote; and makes this *Glosse* or *Comment* upon *Moses* words. *Benedixit ei*, i. e. in *manna*, &c. *God blessed the seventh day*, i. e. in *Mannah*, because for every day of the week, an *Homer* of it fell upon the earth, & a double portion on the sixt, & *sanctified it*, i. e. in *Mannah*, because it fell not on the seventh day at al. *Et scriptura loquitur de re futura*. And in this place (saith he) the *Scripture* speaks as of a thing that was to come. But what need more be said. *Mercer* a learned *Protestant*, & one much cōversant in the *Rabbins*, cōfesseth that the *Rabbins* generally referred this place & passage to the following times, even to the sanctification of the *Sabbath*, established by the *Law of Moses*. *Hebreis fere ad futurū referunt, i. e. sanctificationem Sabbati postea legē per Mosen sanctitam: unde & Manna eo die non descendit.* And howsoever for his own part, he is of opinion, that the first *Fathers* being taught by God, kept the seventh day holy: yet he conceives withall, that the Commandement of keeping holy the *Sabbath day*, was not made till afterwards. *Nam hinc* (from Gods own resting on that day) *postea praeceptum de Sabbatho natum est*, as hee there hath it. Doubtlesse, the *Jewes*, who so much doted on their *Sabbath*, would not by any means have robbed it of so great antiquity; had they had any ground to approve thereof, or not known the contrary. So that the scope of *Moses* in this present place, was not to shew the time when; but the occasion, why the Lord did after sanctity the seventh day for a *Sabbath day*: viz. because that on that day he rested from the works which he had created.

(3) Nor was it otherwise conceived, then that *Moses* here did speak by way of *Prolepsis*, or *Anticipation*, till *Ambrose Catharin*, one of the great sticklers in the *Trent-Council*, opined the contrary. Hee in his *Comment* on

that text falleth very foule upon *Tostatus*; and therein leads the dance to others, who have since taken up the same opinion. *Ineptum est quod quidam commentus est, &c.* "It is a foolish thing (sayth he) that, (as a certain Writer fancieth) the sanctification of that day which *Moses* speaks of, should not be true as of that very point of time whereof he speaks it, but rather is to be referred unto the time wherein he wrote: as if the meaning onely were, that then it should be sanctified when it was ordered and appointed by the Law of *Moses*. And this he calls *Commentum ineptum*, & *contra literam ipsam, & contra ipsum Moleos declarationem*; A foolish and absurd conceit, contrary unto *Moses* words, and to his meaning. Yet the same *Catharinus* doth affirme in the self-same Booke, *Scripturis frequentissimum esse multa per anticipationem narrare*; that nothing is more frequent in the holy *Scriptures*, then these *anticipations*. And in particular, that whereas it is said in the former Chapter, *male et female creatus est heis*, *per anticipationem dictum esse non est dubitandum*, that (without doubt) it is so said by *anticipation*: the woman not being made, as he is of opinion, till the next day after, which was the *Sabbath*. For the *Anticipation* he cites *Saint Chrysostome*, who indeed tells us on that text, *εἰδε τὸν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ γένος, οὐ γένος διεγένετο*. Behold, saith he, how that which was not done as yet, is here related as if done already. He might have added, for that purpose, *Origen* on the first of *Genesis*, and *Gregory the Great*, *Moral. lib. 32. cap. 9.* both which take notice of a *Prolepsis*, or *Anticipation* in that place of *Moses*. For the creation of the woman he brings in *Saint Jerome*, who in his *Tract against the Iewes* expressly saith, *mulierem conditam fuisse die septimo*, that the woman was created on the seventh day or *Sabbath*: to which this *Catharinus* assents, and thinks that thereupon the Lord is said to have finished all his works on the seventh day; that being the last that he created. This seemes indeed to be the old tradition, if it be lawfull for me to digresse a little: it being

ing supposed that *Adam* being wearied in giving names unto all creatures on the sixt day, in the end whereof hee was created; did fall that night into a deepe and heavy sleepe: and that upon the *Sabbath* or the seventh day morning his side was opened, and a rib took thence, for the creation of the woman. So *Augustinus Steuchius* reports the Legend. And this I have the rather noted, to meet with *Catharinus* at his own weapon. For whereas he concludes from the rest of *God*, that, without doubt, the institution of the *Sabbath* began upon that very day wherein *God rested*: it seemes, by him, *God did not rest upon that day, and so we either must have no Sabbath to be kept at all; or else it will be lawfull for us by the Lords example to do what ever worke we have to do, upon that day; and after sanctifie the remaynder*. And yet I needs must say withall, that *Catharinus* was not the onely hee, that thought *God wrought upon the Sabbath*. *Aretius* also so conceived it. *Dies istaque tota non fuit quiete transacta, sed perfecto opere ejus deinceps quiete transacta, ut Hebreus contextus habet. Mercer* a man well skilled in *Hebrew*, denyeth not but the *Hebrew* text will beare that meaning. Who thereupon conceives that the seventy Elders in the translation of that place, did purposely translate it, *εν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ ἔκτῃ, that on the sixt day God finished all the worke that he had made, and after rested on the seventh*. And this they did, saith he, *at omnem dubitandi occasionem tollerent*, to take away all hint of collecting thence, that God did any kind of worke upon that day. For if hee finished all his works on the seventh day, it may be thought (saith he) that *God wrought upon it*. *Saint Hierome* noted this before, that the *Greeke* text was herein different from the *Hebrew*; and turns it as an argument against the *Iewes*; and their rigid keeping of the *Sabbath*. *Artabimus igitur Iudaos qui de ocio Sabbati gloriantur, quod jam tunc in principio Sabbathum dissolutum sit, dum Deus operatur in Sabato, compleans opera sua in eo; & benedicens ipsi dici, quia in ipso universa compleverat.*

*Aug. Steuchius
in Gen. 2.*

Problem loc. 55

In Gen. 2.

*Qu Hebraice
in Gen.*

rat. If so, if God himselfe did breake the *Sabbath*, as Saint Hierome turns upon the *Jewes*: wee have small cause to thinke that he should at that very time, impose the *Sabbath* as a Law upon his creatures.

(4) But to proceed. Others that have took part with *Catharinus* against *Tostatus*, have had as ill successe as he; in being forced either to grant the use of anticipation in the holy Scripture; or else to run upon a tenet, wherein they are not like to have any seconds. I will instance one-ly in two particulars, both *Englishmen*, and both exceeding zealous in the present cause. The first is *Doctor Bound*, who first of all did set a foot these *Sabbatarian* *speculations* in the *Church of England*, wherewith the *Church* is still disquieted. He determines thus. I deny
 " faith he, but that the Scripture speaketh often of things,
 " as though they had been so before, because they were
 " so then, when the things were written. As when it is
 " said of *Abraham*, that *he remooved unto a Mountaine*
 " *Eastward of Bethel*, whereas it was not called *Bethel*
 " till above a hundred yeares after. The like may be said
 " of another place in the *Booke of Judges* called *Bochin*,
 &c. yet in this place of *Genesis* it is not so. And why
 " not so in this, as well as those? Because (saith he) *Mo-*
ses entreateth there of the *sanctification* of the *Sabbath*,
 " not onely because it was so then when hee wrote that
 " *Booke*, but specially because it was so even from the
 " *Creation*. Which by his leave, is not so much a rea-
 son of his opinion, as a plain begging of the question. The
 second *Doctor Ames*, the first I take it, that owed *Bounds*
 doctrine of the *Sabbath*, in the *Netherlands*. Who saith
 expressly first, and in generall termes, *hujusmodi prolepsos*
exemplum nullum in tota scriptura dari posse, that no
 example of the like *anticipation* can be found in Scrip-
 ture; the contrary whereof is already proved. After more
 warily, and in particular, *de hujusmodi institutione Pro-*
leptica, that no such *institution* is set down in *Scripture*,
 by way of a *Prolepsis* or *Anticipation*, either in that Book,
 or

2. Edit. p. 10.

Medulla Thiol.
I. 2. c. 15. § 9.

or in any other. And herein, as before I said, he is not like to find any seconds. We find it in the sixteenth of *Exodus*, that thus *Moses* said, *This is the thing which the Lord commandeth: Fill an Omer of it [of the Mannah] to be* Vers. 32.

kept for your generations, that they may see the bread wherewith I have fed you in the Wildernes, when I brought you forth from the land of Egypt. It followeth in the text, Vers. 34.

that as the Lord commanded Moses, so Aaron laid it up before the testimony to be kept. Here is an *ordinance* of *Gods*, an *institution* of the *Lords*, and this related in the same manner, by *anticipation*, as the former was. *Lyra* upon the place affirmes exprely, that it is spoken there *per anticipationem*: and so doth *Watibus* too, in his *Annotations* on that *Scripture*. But to make sure worke of it, I must send *Doctor Ames* to *Schoole to Calvin*, who telus on this text of *Moses*, *non contexuit Moses historiam suo ordine, sed narrarem uata ὥρον interposita, melius confirmat, &c.* Indeed it could not well be otherwise interpreted. For how could *Aaron* lay up a pot of *Mannah* to be kept *before the testimony*, when as yet there was neither *Arke*, nor *Tabernacle*, and so no *testimony* before which to keep it. To bring this businesse to an end, *Moses* hath told us in the place before remembred, that the *children of Israel did eat Mannah forty yeares*, which is not otherwise true, in that place and time, in which he tells it, but by the helpe and figure of *anticipation*. And this *Saint Austin* noted in his *questions* upon *Exodus*, *sig-*
nificat scriptura per Prolepsin, i. e. hoc loco commemorando quod etiam postea factum est. And lastly, where *Ames* sets it downe for certain, that no man ever thought of an *anticipation* in this place of *Moses*, *qui prejudicio aliquo de observatione dicti Dominica non prius fuit prius anticipatus*, who was not first possessed with some manifest prejudice against the *sanctifying* of the *Lords day*: this cannot possibly be laid against *Tostatus*, who had no enemy to encounter, nor no opinion to oppose, and so no prejudice. We conclude then, that for this passage of the *Scripture*, we find

Vers. 35.

Q. 62.

Vers. supra.

find not any thing unto the contrary, but that it was set down in that place and time, by a plain and meer *anticipation*; and doth relate unto the time wherein *Moses* wrote: And therefore no sufficient warrant to fetch the *institution* of the *Sabbath*, from the *first beginnings*. One onely thing I have to adde, and that's the reason which moved *Moses*, to make this mention of the *Sabbath*, even in the *first beginning* of the *Booke of God*, and so long time before the *institution* of the same. Which doubtlesse was, the better to excite the *Jewes* to observe that day, from which they seemed at first to be much averse: and therefore were not onely to be minded of it, by a *Memento* in the front of the *Commandement*; but by an intimation of the *equity* and *reason* of it, even in the entrance of *Gods Book*, derived from *Gods* first resting on that day after all his works. *Theodoret* hath so resolved it, in his *Questions on the Book of Genesis*, *Maxime autem Iudais ista scribens, necessario posuit hoc, sanctificavit eum, ut majore cultu prosequantur Sabbathum. Hoc enim in legibus sanciendis inquit, sex diebus creavit Deus, &c.*

(5) I say an intimation of the *equitie* and *reason* of it, for that's as much as can be gathered from that place: though some have laboured what they could, to make the *sanctifying* of the *seventh day*, therein mentioned, a precept given by *God* to our Father *Adam* touching the *sanctifying* of that day, to his publicke worship. Of this I shall not now say much; because the practice will disprove it. Onely I cannot but report the minde and judgement of *Pererius* a learned *jesuite*. Who amongst other reasons that he hath alleged, to prove the observation of the *Sabbath* not to have took beginning in the *first infancy* of the *World*, makes this for one: that generally the *Fathers* have agreed on this, *Deum non aliud imposuisse Adamo praeceptum omnino, posse cum nisi illud de non edendo fructu arboris scientie, &c.* that *God* imposed no other Law on *Adam*, then that of the forbidden fruit of the *Tree of knowledge*. Of which since he hath instanced in none

particularly, I will make bold to lay before you some two or three; that so out of the *mouthes* of two or three *witneses* the *truth* hereof may be established. And first we have *Tertullian*, who resolves it thus. *Namque in principio mundi ipsi Adæ & Evæ legem dedit, &c.* In the beginning of the *World*, the *Lord* commanded *Adam* and *Eve* that they should not eat of the fruit of the *tree*, which is in the middle of the *Garden*. Which *Law* (saith he) had been sufficient for their *justification*, had it been observed. For in that *Law*, all other precepts were included, which afterwards were given by *Moses*. *S. Basil* next, who tells us first, that abstinence or fasting was commanded by the *Lord* in *Paradise*. And then, πῶς ὥρατὸς ἐντολὴν ἔλαβεν Ἀδὰμ απὸ τῆς ἔργα τῆς γνώσεων καλὸν καὶ πονεῖν, &c. the first *Commandement* given by *God* to *Adam*, was that he should not eat of the *tree of knowledge*. The very same, which is affirmed by *Saint Ambrose* in another language, *Et ut sciamus non esse novum jejuniū, primam illic legem, [i. e. in *Paradise*] constituit de *jejunio*.* So perfectly agree in this, the greatest lights both of *African*, the *Easterne*, and the *Westerne* *Churches*. If so, if that the *law of abstinence* had been alone sufficient for the *justification* of our Father *Adam*, as *Tertullian* thinks; or if it were the *first law*, given by *God* unto him, as both *Saint Basil* and *Saint Ambrose* are of opinion: then was there no such law at all then made, as that of *sanctifying* of the *Sabbath*; or else not made according to that time and order, wherein this passage of the *Scripture* is laid down by *Moses*. And if not then, there is no other ground for this *Commandement* in the *Booke of God*, before the *wandering* of *Gods* people in the *Wildernes*, and the fall of *Mannah*. A thing so cleere, that some of those, who willingly would have the *Sabbath* to have bin kept from the *first Creation*; and have not the confidence to ascribe the keeping of it, to any ordinance of *God*, but onely to the voluntary imitation of his people. And this is *Torniellus* way, amongst many others, who thought he at-

attribute to *Enos* both set formes of prayer, and certaine times by him selected for the performance of that duty; *principue vero diebus Sabbati*, especially upon the Sabbath: yet he resolves it as before, that such as sanctified that day, if such there were; *non ex praecepto divino, quod nullum tunc extabat, sed ex pietate solum, id egisse*. Of which opinion, *Mercer* seemes to be, as before I noted. So that in this particular point, the *Fathers* and the *modern Writers*; the *Papist* and the *Protestant*, agree most lovingly together.

(6) Much lesse did any of the *Fathers*, or other ancient Christian Writers, conceive that sanctifying of the *Sabbath*, or one day in seven, was naturally ingrafted in the minde of man, from his *first creation*. Its true, they tell us of a *Law*, which naturally was ingrafted in him. So *Chrysostome* affirmes, that neither *Adam*, nor any other man, did ever live without the guidance of this *Law*: and that it was imprinted in the soule of man, assoone as hee was made a living creature. *Ἐτε γὰρ ὁ Ἀδάμ, ἐτε ἀλλος ἀνθρώπος ἐστις καὶ δευτερον παινεται χαλεπος νόμος φυσικός. οὐκετέ γὰρ αὐτὸν ἔχειτεν ὁ θεός, καὶ ἐξεῖται ἐπιτίθεται τοῦ νόμου αὐτοῦ*. as that Father hath it. But neither he nor any other, did ever tell us that the *Sabbath* was a part of this *law of nature*: nay, some of them expressly have affirmed the contrary. *Theodoret* for example, that these Commandments, *Thou shalt not kill*, *Thou shalt not commit adultery*, *Thou shalt not steale*, and others of that kind, *alios quoque homines natura edocent*, were generally implanted by the *law of nature*, in the minds of men. But for the keeping of the *Sabbath*, it came not in by nature, but by *Moses* law. *At Sabbati observandi non natura magistra, sed latio legis*. So. *Theodoret*. And answerably thereunto *Sedulius* doth divide the law into three chiefe parts. Whereof the first is *de Sacramentis*, of signes and Sacraments, as *Circumcision*, and the *Passover*: the seconnd is, *qua congruit legi naturali*, the body of the *Law of nature*, and is the summary of those things which are prohibited by

In die 7.

In Rom. 7.12.
bem. 12.

In Ezech. 20.

In Rom. 3.

by the words of God: the third and last, *factorum*, of tites and ceremonies (for so I take it is his meaning) as *new Moones and Sabbaths*, which cleerly doth exempt the *Sabbath*, from having any thing to doe with the *law of nature*. And *Damascen* assures too, that when there was no law enacted, nor any Scripture inspired by God, that then there was no *Sabbath* neither *Οὐτε γάρ εἰν ἦν νόμος, οὐδὲ γένεται θεοφυσος, εἰδέ τοι αὐτοῖς τοῦ θεοῦ αριστεροῦ*. To which three *Ancients* we might adde many more of these later times, * *Ryvet* and * *Adnes*, and divers others, who though they plead hard for the antiquity of the *Sabbath*: dare not referre the keeping of it, to the *law of nature*, but onely (as wee shall see annon) unto *positive lawes*, and *divine authority*. But hereof wee shall speake more largely when we are come unto the promulgating of this *Law*, in the time of *Moses*: where it will evidently appeare to be a *positive Constitution* onely, fitted peculiarly to the *Jewes*; and never otherwise esteemed of, then a *Jewish Ordinance*.

(7) Its true, that all men generally have agreed on this, that it is consonant to the *law of nature*, to set apart *some time* to Gods *publicke service*: but that this time should rather be the *seventh day*, then any other, that they impute not unto any thing in *nature*; but either to *divine, legall, or Ecclesiastical institution*. The *Schoolmen*, *Papists*, *Protestants*, men of almost all perswasions in religion, have so resolved it. And for the *Ancients*, our *venerable Bede* assures us, that to the *Fathers* before the law, all dayes were equall; the *seventh day* having no prerogative before the others: and this he calls *naturalis Sabbathi libertatem*, the liberty of the *naturall Sabbath*, which ought (saith he) to be restored at our Saviours comming. If so, if that the *Sabbath* or time of rest unto the Lord, was naturally left free and arbitrary, then certainly it was not restraint more unto one day then another; or to the *seventh day*, more than to the *sixth or eighth*. Even *Ambrose Catharin*, as stout a chāpion as he was for the antiquity of the

De Or. b. 6. fide
l. 4. c. 24.

* In Decalog.
* Medulla
ibid. l. 2 cap. 15.

In Luf. 19.

the Sabbath, finds himselfe at a losse about it. For having tooke for granted, as bee might indeed, that men by the prescript of *nature*, were to assigne peculiar times for the service of God; and adding that the very Gentiles used to do: is faine to shut up all with an *Ignoramus. Nescium modo quem diem precipue obseruant presci illi Discalculares.* We cannot well resolve (saith hee) what day especially was observed by those who worshipped God in the times of old. Wherein he doth agree exactly with *Abelensis*, against whom principally he tooke up the bucklers; who could have taught him this, if he would have learnt of such a Master, that howsoeuer the Hebrew people, or any other, before the giving of the Law, were bound to set apart *some time for religious duties: non tamen magis in Sabbatho, quam in quolibet aliorum dierum*, yet were they no more bound to the Sabbath day than to any other. So for the Protestant Writers, two of the greatest *Advocates of the Sabbath*, have resolved accordingly. *Quod ideo illa solennis unus debet esse in septimana, hoc positivus iuris est*; that is *Amesius doctrine*. And *Ryver* also saith the same, *Legi de Sabbatho posse tam non naturaliter agnoscinus.* The places were both cited in the former Section; and bothe doe make the Sabbath a mere *positive Law*. But what need more be said in so cleere a case; or what needs further *Witnesses* be produced to give in evidence, when wee have *confidentem rerum*. For Doctor *Bound*, who first amongst us here endevoured to advance the *Lords day* into the place of the *Jewish Sabbath*; and fained a pedigree of the Sabbath even from *Adams* infancie: hath herein said enough to betray his cause, and those that since have either built upon his foundation; or beautified their undertakings with his collections. "Indeed (saith he) this law was given in the beginning, not so much by the *light of nature*, as the rest of the nine Commandments were; but by expresse words when God sanctified it. For though this be in the *law of nature*, that some dayes should be separated to Gods

In Exod. 20.
Q. 11.

WOR-

worship, as appeares by the practice of the *Gentiles*: yet that it should be every *seventh day*, the Lord himselfe set down in expresse words; which otherwise by the *light of nature* they could never have found. So that by his confession, there is no Sabbath to be found in the *law of nature*: no more then by the testimony of the Fathers, in any *positive law*, or divine appointment, untill the *Decalogue* was given by *Moses*.

2. Edi p 11.
& 16.

(8) Nay, Doctor *Bound* goeth further yet; and robs his friends & followers of a speciall argument. For where *Danens* askes this questio, *Why one of seven rather then one of eight or nine*; and therunto makes answere, that the number of seven doth signifie *perfection and perpetuitie*: First, saith the Doctor, I doe not see that proved, that there is any such mysticall signification, rather than of any other. And though that were granted, yet doe I not find that to be any cause at all in *Scripture*, why the *seventh day* should be commanded to be kept holy, rather then the *sixth*, or *eighth*. And in the former page. The speciall reason why the *seventh day* should be rather kept than any other, is not the excellencie or *perfection* of that *number*, or that there is any mystery in it, or that God delighteth more in it, than in any other: though, I confess (saith hee) that much is said that way, both in divine and humane Writers. Much hath been said therein; indeed, so much, that we may wonder at the strange niceties of some men, and the unprofitable pains they have tooke amongst them, in searching out the mysteries of this number; the better to advance, as they conceive, the reputation of the *Sabbath*. *Aug. Steuchius* hath affirmed in generall, that this day and number is most naturall, and most agreeable to divine imployments, and therefore *in omniate inter omnes gentes habitus venerabilis & sacer*, accounted in all times and Nations, as most venerable; and so have many others said since him. But he that lead the way unto him, and to all the rest, is *Philo the Jew*; who being a great follower of *Platos*, tooke up his way

ib. p. 69.

In Gen. 2.

Tus. ad Attic. I.
7. Ep. 13.
De mundi opificio.

De legis Alleg. I. 1

Ap. Euseb. Prae-
par. I. c. 7.

way of trading in the mysteries of severall numbers: wherein he was so intricate and perplexed, that numero *Platonis obscurum*, did grow at last into a Proverbe. This *Philo therefore Platonizing*, first tells us of this number of seven, *τὸν διδόντα τὸν ικανὸν σύναρτον τὸν οὐσίαν αὐτὸν*, that he perswades himselfe, there is not any man able sufficiently to extoll it; as being farre above all the powers of *Rhetoricke*: and that the *Pythagoreans* (from them first *Plato* learnt those trifles) did usually resemble it, *τὸν ιγενόν τὸν οὐπατέντων*, even to *Iove* himselfe. Then, that *Hippocrates* doth divide the life of man into *seven ages*, each age contayning *seven* full yeares; to which the changes of mans constitution are all framed and fitted: as also that the *Beare*, or *Arcturus*, as they use to call it, and the constellation called the *Pleiades*, consist of *seven* starres severally, neither more nor lesse. *Hee shewes us also*, how much nature is delighted in this number, *καὶ τὸν οὐσίαν οἰδη*, as *vix.* that there are *seven Planets*, and that the Moone quartereth every *seventh day*, that *Infants borne in the seventh moneth* are usually like enough to live; that there are *seven* severall motions of the body, *seven intrasles*, so many outward members, *seven holes*, or *out-lets*, in the same, *seven* sorts of excrements; as also that the *seventh* is the *criticall day* in most kindes of maladies. And to which purpose this, and much more of the same condition, every where scattered in his *Writings*; but to devise some naturall reaon for the *Sabbath*. For so he manifests himselfe in another place. *Τὸν διπλὸν τὸν ικανὸν τὸν οὐσίαν σύναρτον, &c.* Now why God chose the *seventh day*, and established it by law for the day of rest, you need not aske at all of me, since both *Physicians* and *Philosophers* have so oft declared, of what great power and vertue that number is, as in all other things, so specially on the nature and state of man. *Οὐτος δὲ τῆς ιερείας λόγος.* And thus (saith he) you have the reason of the *seventh day Sabbath*. Indeed *Philosophers* and *Physicians* and other learned men of great

great name and credit, have spoken much in honour of the number of seven, and severally impute great power unto it in the works of nature; and severall changes of mans body. Whereof see *Consortinus de die natali*, cap. 12. *Varro in Gellius lib. 3. c. 10.* *Hippocrates, Solon, and Hermippus Beritus* in the sixt Booke of *Clemens of Alexandria*, besides divers others. Nay, it grew up so high in the opinion of some men, that they derived it at the last, *απὸ τῆς οἰκαρπῆς*, i. e. *ab insita maiestate*. So *Philo* tells us. *Macrobius* also saith the same. *Apud veteres ἡτας vocatur. quod graco nomine testabatur venerationem debitam numero.* Thus he in *Somnio Sciponis*.

De legis All. gor.

(9) But other men as good as they find no such mystery in this number, but that the rest may keepe pace with it, if not goe before it: and some of those which so much magnifie the *seventh*, have found, as weighty mysteries in many of the others also. In which I shall the rather enlarge my selfe, that seeing the exceeding great both contradiction and contention that is between them in these needlesse curiosities; we may the better finde the slightnesse of those arguments, which seeme to place a great moralitie in this number of *seven*; as if it were by nature the most proper number for the service of God. And first, whereas the learned men before mentioned, affixe a speciall power unto it in the works of nature, *Instine the Martyr* plainly tells us, *απὸ τῶν θεάματων ηγετος, &c.* that the accomplishment of the works of nature is to bee ascribed to nature onely, not unto any period of time accounted by the number of *seven*: and that they oft times come to their perfection sooner, or later, then the said periods; which could not be, in case that nature were ob-servant of this number, as, they say, shee is, and not this number tied to the course of nature. *εἰχε τὸν ιερεῖαν τὸν ικανὸν τὸν οὐσίαν σύναρτον, &c.* There-fore (saith hee) this number hath no influence on the works of nature. Then whereas others attribute I know not what perfection to this number above all the rest;

Respons. ad
qu 69.

De Republ. 4.

In Georgic. I.

Oratio secundr.

In Amos 5.

In Gen. bon. 8.

Ad Antioch.
qu. 51...

In Elog. 3.

De republ. 4.

rest; *Cicero* affirming that it is *plenus numerus*; *Macrobius*, that it is *numerus solidus & perfectus*: *Bodinus* doth affirme exprefly, *neutrum de septenario dici potest*, that neither of thofe attributes is to be ascribed unto this number; that the *eight* number is a *solid* number, although not a *perfect* one; the *sixt* a *perfect* number also. Now as *Bodinus* makes the *eight* more *solid*, and the *sixt* more *perfect*; so *Servius* on these words of *Virgil*, *Septima post decimam faelix*, prefers the *tenth* number a farre deale before it: *Ut primum locum decima ferat, que sit valde faelix; secundum septime, ut qua post decimam felicitatem secunda sit.* Nay, which may feeme more strange then this, the *Arithmeticians* generally, as we read in *Nyffen*, make this *seventh* number to bee utterly barren and unfruitfull, *ον τριπάτος τοις ιστιν τοις ελλήπις*. But to go forwards in this matter. *Macrobius* who before had said of this number of *seven*, that it is *plenus & venerabilis*; hath in the same Booke laid of the number of *one*, that it is *principium finis & omnium*, and that it hath a *speciall* reference or reſemblance unto God on high: which is by farre the greater commendation of the two. And *Hierom*, that however there be many mysteries in the number of *seven*: *prima tamen beatitudo est, esse in primo numero*, yet the prime happiness or beatitude is to be sought for in the *first*. So for the *third*, *Origen* generally affirmeſ that it is *aptus sacramentis*, even made for mysteries: and ſome particuſars he nameth. *Macrobius* findeth in it all the naturall faculties of the Soule; *λογικήν*, or rationall; *δυμικήν*, or irascible, and laſt of all *ειδυλλικήν*, or concupiſcible. *Saint Athanasius* makes it equall altogether with the *seventh*; the one being no leſſe memorable for the *holy Trinitie*, then the other for the Worlds *Creation*. And *Servius* on these words of *Virgil*, *numero Deus impare gaudet*, ſaith that the *Pythagoreans* hold it for a *perfect* number, and do reſemblle it unto God, *à quo principium & medium, & finis est*. Yet on the contrary, *Bodinus* takes up *Aristotle*, *Plutarch*, and *Lactantius*, for ſaying that the *third* is a *perfect* number: there being in his rec-

koning

koning, but foure *perfect* numbers in 100000; which are 6. 28. 496. & 8128. Next for the *fourth*, *Philo*, not onely hath afflred us, that it is *δέσμως τελεῖς*, a *perfect number*, *Bodinus* contradicts him: but that it is highly honoured, as amongſt *Philosophers*, ſo by *Moses* alio, who hath affirmed of it, that it is, *αὐτὸς καὶ ἀνερός*, both holy, and prayſe-worthy too. And for the mysteries ther-of, *Clemens of Alexandria* tells us, that both *Iehovah* in the *Hebreu*, and *Θεός* in the *Greeke*, conſiſteth of foure letters onely: and ſo doth *Deus* in the *Latine*. *Nazianzen* further doth enforme us, that as the *seventh* amongſt the *Hebreu*, ſo was the *fourth* honoured by the *Pythagoreans*: *ην δὲ τοις ὄφροις τεττάντυν*, and that they used to ſweare thereby when they tooke an oath. Yet for all this, *Saint Ambrose* thought this number not alone *unprofitable* but even *dangerous* alſo. *Numerum quartum plerique canent. & inutile putant*, as he in his *Hexaemeron*. Then for the *ſixt*, *Macrobius* tells us that it comprehendeth all things both in the *Heavens* above, and the *earth* below. And yet by *Origen* it is placed indifferently, partly in *laudabilibus*, partly in *culpabilibus*; there being five *foolish Virgins* for the *five wise ones*.

(10) Now let us looke upon the *sixt*, which ** Beda* reckoneth to be *numerus perfectus*; and *Bodin*, ** primus perfectorum*. ** Philo*, and generally the ** Pythagoreans* doe affirme the ſame. Yet the ſame *Bodin* tells us in the ſelfe-ſame Booke, that howſoever it be the first perfect number, ſuch as according unto *Plato*, did ſort moſt fitly with the workmanſhip of *God*: *Videmus tamen viliſſimis animantibus convenire*, yet was it proper, in ſome ſort, to the vileſt creatures. As for the *eighth*, *Hesychius* makes it an expression, or figure of the world to come. *Macrobius*, tells us that the *Pythagoreans* used it as an *Hieroglyphick of Iuſtice*, *κνια primus omnium solvitur in numeros pariter pares*; because it will be alwayes diuiſible into even or equall members. Nay, whereas those of *Athens* did uſe to ſacrifice to *Neptune*, on the *eighth* day of every moneth: *Plusarch* hath found out ſuch a myſtically

* In Gen. 2:
* De republ. 4.
* De mundi
opif.
* Clem Alex.
Srom. 1-4.

Lib 4.c.9

In Levitom: 6

In Levit 12.

In Theseg.

realon for it, out of the nature of that number ; as others in the number of *seven*, for the moralitie of the *Sabbath*. " They sacrifice (saith he) to *Nepturne* on the eighth day of every moneth, because the number of *eight* is the first *Cube*, made of even numbers, and the double of the first square : τὸ μόνιμον τὸ δυνατόν τὸν τέλον τὸν δέσμον, which doth represent an immoveable stedfastnesse properly attributed to the might of *Nepturne* ; whom for this cause wee name *Asphalius* and *Tauvixes*, which signifieth the safe keeper and stayer of the earth. As strong an argument for the one, as any mysterie or moralitie derived from numbers, can be for the other. But if we looke upon the *tenth*, we find a greater commendation given to that, then to the *seventh* : yea, by those very men themselves, to whom the *seventh* appeared so sacred. *Philo* affirms thereof, * that of all numbers it is most * *absolute* and *complete*; not meanly celebrated by the Prophet *Moses*; most proper and familiar unto God himself; * that the powers and vertues of it are innumerable : and finally, that learned men did call it *Arxide quasi Exedre*, because it comprehended in it selfe all kind of numbers. With whom agree *Macrobius*, who stiles it *numerum perfectissimum*; and * *Clemens Alexandrinus*, who gives it both the attributes of holiness and perfection, * *Nazianzen* and * *Athanasius* are as full, as they. And here this number feernes to mee to have got the better : there being nothing spoken in disgrace of this, as was before of the *seventh*, by severall Authours there remembred. So that far ought I see, in case the argument be good for the *moralitie of the Sabbath*, we may make *every day*, or *any day* a *Sabbath*, with as much reason as the *seventh* : and keepe it on the *tenth* day, with best right of all. *Also arguments ab absurdo petitare non habent exitum*, said *Lactantius* truly. Nay, by this reason, we need not keepe a *Sabbath* oftner, then every *thirtieth* day, or every *fiftieth*, or every *hundreth*: because those numbers have been noted also to containe great mysteries, and to be perfecter too then others. For

Origen

Ja Gen b.m.1.

De vita con. templi.

In Num. 1 cm. 3.

In Gen. b.m.2.

Origen hath plainly told us, that if wee looke into the *Scriptures*, *invenies nulla magnarum rerum gesta sub tricenario & quinquegenario contineri*; we shall find many notable things delivered to us in the numbers of thirtie and fiftie. Of fiftie more particularly *Philo* affirms upon his credit, that it is *ἀμώτατος καὶ φυσικώτατος αειθαύων*, the holiest and most naturall of all other numbers : and *Origen* conceived so highly of it, that he breaks out into a *timeo hujus numeri secreta discatere*, and durst not touch upon that string. So lastly for the *Centenary* the same Authour tells us, that it is *plenus* and *perfectus*, no one more absolute. Wee may have *Sabbaths* at our will, either too many, or too few, if this plea be good.

(11) Yea, but perhaps, there may be some thing in the *Scripture*, whereby the *seventh day* may be thought more capable, in *nature*, of so high an honour. Some have so thought indeed, and thereupon have mustered up all those texts of *Scripture*, in which there hath beene any good expressed or intimated which concernes this number, or is reducible unto it. *Bellarmino* never took more pains, out of that fruitlesse *topick* to produce *seven Sacraments*: then they have done from thence to derive the *Sabbath*. I need not either name the men, or recite the places : both are knowne sufficiently. Which kind of prooфе if it be good, we are but where we were before, amongst our *Ecclesiasticall* and *humane Writers*. In this, the *Scriptures* will not helpe us, or give the *seventh day* naturally, and in it selfe, more capability or fitnessse for Gods worship, then the *ninth* or *tenth*. For first the *Scriptures* give not more honour to this number in some texts thereof, then it detracts from it in others : and secondly, they speake as highly of the other numbers, as they doe of this. The *Iesuite Pererius* shall stand up, to make good the first; and Doctor *Cracanthorp* to avow the second. *Pererius* first resolves it cleerly, *numerum Septenarium etiam in rebus pessimis & execrandis sapenumero positum esse in Scripturis*

C 3

In Gen. 6.11.17.

ra

* *De mundi opific.*
* *De congressu quae erudit. gr.*
* *De Decalogo.*

* *Strom. 1.6.*

* *Qu. ad Antioch. 51.*

* *Ora. 42.*

“ *et sacra*. As for example. *The evill spirit* (saith Saint Luke) *brought with him seven spires worse then him*. “ *selte*: and out of *Mary Magdalene* did Christ cast out “ *seven Devils*, as Saint Marke telles us. So in the *Revelation*, Saint John informes us of a *Dragon* that had *seven heads* and *seven Crownes*, as also of *seven plagues*, sent “ *into the earth*, and *seven Viols* of Gods wrath powred “ *out upon it*. (He might have told us had he listed, that the *purple beast* whereon the *great Whorerid*, had *seven heads* also, and that shee late upon *seven Mountaines*.) “ *It's true* (saith hee) *which David* telles us, that hee did “ *praye God seven times a day*: but then as true it is, “ *which Solomon* hath told us, that the *just man falleth seven times a day*. So in the booke of *Genesis*, we have *seven leane kine*, and *seven thinne eares of Corn*; as well as *seven fat Kine*, and *seven full Eares*: To proceed no further. *Pererius* hereupon makes this generall resolution of the case; *Apparet igitur eosdem numeros, aequi in bonis & malis poni, & usurpari in sacra scriptura*. Next whereas those of *Rome*, as before I noted, have gone the same way to find out *seven Sacraments*: our *Cracanborpe*, to shew the vanitie of that argument, doth the like, for “ *the prooфе of two*. *Quod & si nobis fas esset, &c.* If it “ *were lawfull for us to take this course*, we could pro-“ *duce more for the number of two*, then they can for *se-ven*. As for example, God made *two* great lights in “ *the Firmament*, and gave to man *two eyes*, *two eares*, “ *two feet*, *two hands*, *two armes*. There were *two Na- tions* in the *wombe of Rebecca*, *two tables* of the *Law*, “ *two Cherubins*, *two Sardonich stones* in which were “ *written the names of the tonnes of Israel*. Thou shalt “ *offer to the Lord*, *two Rams*, *two Turtles*, *two Lambes* “ *of an yeere old*, *two young Pigeons*, *two Hlee-goats*, “ *two Oxen* for a *peace-offering*. Let us make *two Trum- pets*, *two Doores* of the *wood of Olives*, *two Nets*, *two Pillars*. There were *two Hornes* of the *Lambe*, *two Candlesticks*, *two Olive branches*, *two Witnesses*, *two*

“ *Pro-*Contra Spalat.
Cap. 30.

“ *Prophets*, *two Testaments*; and upon *two Command- ments* hang all the *Law* and the *Prophets*, saith our “ *Saviour*: *Congruentis facile vinceremus, si nobis in hunc campum descendere libet, &c.* We should (saith he) pre-“ *sume of an easie victory*, should we thus dally with con-“ *gruities*, as doe those of *Rome*. Hence we conclude, that by the light of *Scripture*, we find not any thing in *nature*, why either every *seventh day* should; or every *second day* should not be a *Sabbath*. Not to say any thing of the o-“ *ther numbers*, of which the like might be affirmed, if we would trouble our selves about it.

.. (12) Its true, this tricke of trading in the mysteries of numbers, is of long standing in the *Church*, and of no lesse danger: first borrowed from the *Platonists* and the *Pythagoreans*; by the ancient *Hereticks*, *Marcion*, *Valenti- nus*, *Basilides*, and the rest of that damned crew; the bet-“ *ter to disguise their errors*, and their palliate impieties. Some of the *Fathers* afterwards tooke up the devise, per-“ *haps to foyle the Hereticks at their own weapons*: though many of them purpoltely declined it. Sure I am *Chrosoftome* dislikes it. Who on those words in the 7. of *Genesis*, by *seven & by seven* (which is the number now debated) doth instruct us thus. Πόνοι γαρ ταῦτα τέτοιοι πυδονότεροι, καὶ εἰπεῖν ἀρρενινὴν λαμπρότερον παραπίπτεις αἱρέσεις εἰδοντες “ *τι*, &c. Many (saith hee) doe tell strange matters of “ *this fact*, and taking an occasion hence, make many ob-“ *servations* out of severall numbers. Whereas not ob-“ *servation*, but onely an unfeastonable curiositie hath “ *produced those fictions*, Οὗτοι καὶ αἱ μίσει τοῖς αἱρέσεις “ *εἰπεῖν*, from whence so many heresies had their first “ *originall*. For oftentimes (that out of our abundance “ *we may fit their fancies*) wee finde the even or equall “ *number* no lesse commemo-rated in *holy Scripture*, as “ *when God sent out his Disciples by two*, and *two*: “ *when he chose twelve Apostles*, and *left four* *Evange- lists*. But these things it were needles to suggest to you,

C 4

who

In Gen. hom 24

“ who have so many times beeene lessened, *τοὺς τούτοις ἀπογέλμενάς εἰσαστε*, to stop your eares against such follies. Saint Augustine also, though hee had descended awhile upon the mysteries of this number : yet he cuts off himselfe, in the very middle, as it were, *Ne scientiam suam leviter magis quam utiliter, jactare velle videatur* ; lest hee should seeme to shew his reading, with more pride, then profit. And thereupon he gives this excellent rule, which I could with had beeene more practised in this case ; *Habenda est itaque ratio moderatio-nis & gravitatis, ne forte cum de numero multum loqui-mur, mensuram & pondus negligere judicemur*. Wee must not take, saith hee, so much heed of numbers, that wee forget at the last, both weight and measure. And this wee should the rather doe, because that generally there is no rule layd downe, or any reason to be given in nature, why some particular numbers have been set apart for particular utes, when other numbers might have served : why *Hiericho* should be rather compassed *seven times*, then *six* or *eight* ; why *Abraham* rather trained three hundred and eighteene of his servants, then three hundred and twenty ; or why his servant tooke ten Camels with him into *Padan Aram*, and not more or less : with infinite others of this kind in the *Law Leviticall*. Yet I deny not, but that some reason may be given, why in the Scripture, things are so often ordered by *sevens and sevens* : *viz.* as *Justin Martyr* tells *in a quæstiōnē*, *σημαντικόν τῆς τοῦ κόσμου τοινόν*, the better to preserve the memory of the Worlds Creation. Another reason may be added, which is, by this inculcating of the number of *seven*, unto the *Iewes*, to make that people, who otherwise were at first averse from it, as before I noted, continually mindfull of the Sabbath. *Numerum septenarium propter Sabbathum Iudeis familiarem esse*, was the observation of Saint *Hierom*. To draw this point unto an end, It is apparent by what hath before been spoken, that there

De civit. Dei,
l. 11. c. 31.

Respons. ad qu.
69.

In Ezeie. 4,

is no Sabbath to be found in the beginning of the World, or mentioned as a thing done, in the second of *Genesis* : either on any strength of the Text it self, or by immediate ordinance and command from God, collected from it, or by the law and light of nature imprinted in the soule of man, at his first creation : much lesse by any naturall fitness in the number of *Seaven*, whereby it was most capable in it selfe of so high an honour, which first premised, we shall the easier see what hath been done in point of practice.



C H A P. I I.

That there was no S A B B A T H kept, from the Creation, to the Flood.

(1) Gods rest upon the seventh day, and from what hee rested. (2) Zanchius conceit touching the sanctifying of the first seventh day, by Christ our Saviour (3) The like of Torniellus, touching the sanctifying of the same, by the Angells in Heaven (4) A generall demonstration that the Fathers before the Law, did not keepe the Sabbath. (5) Of Adam, that hee kept not the Sabbath. (6) That Abel, and Seth did not keepe the Sabbath. (7) Of Enos, that hee kept not the Sabbath. (8) That Enoch and Methusalem did not keepe the Sabbath. (9) Of Noah, that hee kept not the Sabbath. (10) The Sacrifices and devotions of the Aucti-
ents were occasionall.

(1)


Ow little ground there is, whereon to build the originall of the Sabbath, in the second of *Genesis*, wee have at large declared in the former Chapter. Yet wee deny not but that Text affords us a sufficient intimation of the equity and reason of it, which is Gods rest upon that day after all his works that hee had made. Not as once *Celsus* did object against the

Origen contra
Cels. 1.6.

P A R T. I. the Sabbath.

C H A P. I.

the Christians of his time, as if the Lord, ~~worshipt~~ his ares-
tions, & ~~workes~~ *χειροτεχνης*, &c. like to some doul artificer, was weary of his labours, and had need of sleepe: for he spake the word onely and all things were made. There went no greater labour to the whole creation, then a *dixit Dominus*. Therefore Saint Austin rightly noteth, *nec cum creavit defessus, nec cum cessavit refectus est*; that God was neither weary of working, nor refreshed with resting. The meaning of the Text is this, that hee desiried then, from adding any thing, *de novo*, unto the World by him created: as having in the six former dayes, fashioned the Heaven and Earth, and every thing in them contained; and furnished them with all things necessary, both for use and ornament. I say, from adding any thing, *de novo*, unto the World by him created; but not from governing the same: which is a worke by us as highly to be prized, as the first creation; and from the which God never resteth. Sabbaths and all dayes are alike in respect of providence: in reference to the universall government of the World and Nature. *Semper videmus Deum operari, & Sabatum nullum est in quo Deus non operetur, in quo non producat Solem suum super bonos & malos.* No Sabbath, whereon God doth rest from the administration of the World by him created, whereon hee doth not make his Sun to shine both on good and bad; whereon he raines not plenty, upon the sinner and the just, as *Origen* hath truly noted. Nor is this more, then what our Saviour said in his holy Gospell. *I worke (saith he) and my Father also worketh.* A saying, as saith Saint Austin, at which the *Iewes* were much offended, our Saviour meaning by those words that God rested not, *nec ullum sibi cessationis statuisse diem*, and that there was no day wherein he tended not the preservation of the creature: and therefore for his own part, he would not ceale from doing his Fathers busynesse, *ne Sabbathis quidem*, no though it were upon the Sabbath. By which it seemeth, that when the Sabbath was observed, and that if still

De Gen. ad lit 1.
4. c. 14.Hom 23. in
Num.Contra Faustum
Man. 1.16.6.

still it were in force, it was not then, and would not be un-lawfull unto any now, to look to his estate on the Sabbath day, and to take care that all things thrive and prosper which belong unto him: though he increase it not, or adde thereto by following, on that day, the workes of his daily labour. And this according to their rules, who would have Gods example so exactly followed, in the Sabbaths rest: who rested, as we see, from creation onely, not from preservation. So that the rest here mentioned, was as before I said, no more then a cessation or a leaving off, from adding any thing, as then, unto the World by him created. Upon which ground, hee afterwards designed this day for his *holy Sabbath*, that so by his example the *Iewes* might learne to rest from their Worldly labours; and be the better fitted to meditate on the workes of God, and to commemorate his goodness manifested in the Worlds Creation.

(2) Of any other *sanctification* of this day, by the *Lord our God*, then that he rested on it now, and after did command the *Iewes* that they should sanctifie the same, we have no *Constat* in the *Scriptures*: nor in any Author, that I have met with, untill *Zanchies* time. Indeed hee tells us, a large story of his owne making, how God the Sonne came down to *Adam*, and sanctified this first *Sabbath* with him; that hee might know the better how to doe the like. *Ego quidem non dubito, &c.* I little doubt, " saith he, (I will speake onely what I thinke, without " wrong or prejudice to others, I little doubt) but that " the Sonne of God, taking the shape of man upon him " was busied all this day in most holy conferences with " *Adam*; that he made known himselfe both to him, and " *Eve*; taught them the order that he used in the Worlds " creation; exhorted them to meditate on thole glorious " works; in them to prayse the Name of God, acknowledg- " ing him for their Creatour; & after his example, to " spend that day for ever, in these pious exercises. I doubt " not, finally, saith hee, but that hee taught them on that

*De creat hanc-
nisi, i.ad finem.*

Scen. 5.

day the whole body of divinity: and that he held them busied all day long, in hearing him, and celebrating with due prayses their *Lord and God*; and giving thankes unto him for so great and many benefits as God had graciously vouchsafed to bestow upon them. Which said, he shuts up all with this conclusion. *Hec est illius septimi dies benedictio & sanctificatio, in qua filius Dei una cum patre & spiritu sancto, quievit ab ope- re quod fecerat.* This was (faith hee) the blessing and sanctifying of that seventh day, wherein the Sonne of God together with the Father and the Holy Ghost, did rest from all the workes that they had made. How *Zanchie* thwarts himselfe in this, wee shall see hereafter. Such strange conceptions, though they miscarry not in the birth: yet commonly they serve to no other use, then monsters in the works of nature, to be seen and shewne; with wonder at all times, and sometimes with pitie. Had such a thing occurred in *Pet. Comestors supplement*, which he made unto the *Bible*, it had been more tolerable. The *Legendaries* and the *Rabbins* might fairly also have been excused, if any such devise had been extant in them. The gravity of the man makes the tale more pittifull, though never the more to be regarded. For certainly, had there been such a weighty conference between God and Man; and so much tending unto information, and instruction: it is not probable, but that we should have heard thereof in the holy *Scriptures*. And finding nothing of it there, it were but unadvisedly done, to take it on the word and credit of a private man. *Non credimus quia non legimus*, was in some points *Saint Hieroms* rule; and shall now be ours.

(3) As little likelihood there is, that the *Angels* did observe this day and sanctifie the same to the *Lord their God*: yet some have been so venturous as to affirme it. Sure I am *Torniellus* saith it. And though he seem to have some Authors, upon whom to cast it; yet his approving of it, makes it his, as well as theirs who first devised it.

Annal. d. 7.

Qui-

Quidam, non immerito, existimarent hoc ipso die in Cœlis omnes Angelorum choros, speciali quadam exultatione in Dei laudes prorupisse, quod tam præclarum & admirabile opus absolvisset. Nay, he, and they, who ever they were, have a Scripture for it; even Gods words to Job: *Where wast thou when I laid the foundations of the earth; when the morning starres sang together, and all the sonnes of God shouted for joy?* Who, and from whence those Quidam were, that so interpreted Gods words, I could never finde; and yet have took some pains to seek it. Sure I am, Saint Austin makes a better use of them, and comes home indeed unto the meaning. Some men, it seemes, affirmed that the Angels were not made, till after the sixe dayes were finished, in which all things had been created: and he referres them to this Text for their confutation. Which being repeated, he concludes. *Iam ergo cœrant Angeli, quando facta sunt sydera, facta autem sunt sydera die quarto.* Therefore (saith he) the Angels were created before the Starres; and on the fourth day were the starres created. Yet Zanchius, and those Quidam, be they who they will, fell short a little of another conceit of Philos, who tells us that the Sabbath had a privilege above other dayes, not onely from the first Creation of the World (though that had beeene enough to set out the Sabbath: *Ιαλλα καὶ ἡ τῆς ἡγετείας καὶ πάντων αἰδίντων γένετος*, but even before the Heavens and all things visible were created. If so it must be sanctified by the holy Trinitie, without the tongues of men and Angels: and God, not having worked, must rest; and sanctifie a time, when no time was: But to return to Torniellus, however those Quidam did mislead him, & make him think that the first Sabbath had been sanctified by the holy Angels; yet he ingenuously confesseth that *sancifying* of the Sabbath here upon the earth was not in use till very many ages after, not till the Law was given by Moses. *Verum tamen in terris ista Sabbathi sanctificatio non nisi post multa secula in usum venisse creditur, nimiram temporibus Mosis, quando sub præcepto data est filiis Israel.* So Torniellus. (4) So

38.4.6.

De Civit. Dei, b.
11. c.9.De vita Mosis
lib.3.

Annal. d.7.

(4) So Torniellus, and so farre unquestionable. For that there was no Sabbath kept amongst us men, till the times of Moses, the Christian Fathers generally, and some Rabbins also, have agreed together. Which that we may the better shew, I shall first let you see what they say in generall, and after what they have delivered of particular men, most eminent in the whole story of Gods Booke, untill the giving of the Law. And first that never any of the Patriarkes before Moses time, did observe the Sabbath, Iustin the Martyr hath assured us; *Τές τῷ Μωϋσῷ οὐδὲν τι τοῦ Αρεγάτου διηγεῖται εἰς τὸν Ιερουσαλήμ μετεπικαύειν, μήτε τὰ σαββατα οὐλάζειντας.* None of the righteous men, saith he, and such as walked before the Lord, were either circumcised or kept the Sabbath, untill the severall times of Abraham and Moses. And where the Iewes were scandalized, in that the Christians did eat hot meats on the Sabbath dayes: the Martyr makes reply, that the said just and righteous men, not taking heed of any such observances, *μεμαρτυρητοί τὸν Ιησούν θεόν αὐτούς*, obtained a notable testimony of the Lord himselfe. So Irenæus, having first told us that Circumcision and the Sabbath were both given for signes; and having spoke particularly of Abraham, Noah, Lot, and Enoch, that they were justified without them: addes for the close of all, that all the multitude of the faithfull before Abraham were justified without the one; *Et Patriarcharum corum qui ante Moysen fuerunt, et all the Patriarkes which preceded Moses, without the other.* Tertullian next, disputeth thus against the Iewes, that they which think the Sabbath must be still observed, as necessary to salvation; or Circumcision to be used upon pain of death: *Doceant in Prætorium justos sabbatriasse, aut circumcidisse, & sic amicos Dei effectos esse;* ought first of all, saith he, to prove, *That the Fathers of the former times were circumcised or kept the Sabbath, or that thereby they did obtaine to be accounted the friends of God.* Then comes Eusebius the Historian, and he makes it good, that the Religion of the Patriarchs be-

Dial. cum Tiph

Adv. heret. 4.
c.30.

Adv. Judæus.

Hib. l. 1. c. 4.

before Moses Law, was nothing different from the Christian: and how proves he that? εἰτ' εἰ αὐτοῖς ἀμύνας πειρῶνται τελεῖν, διπλοῦν οὐκέτι οὐδὲν εἰνθέντες, οὐδὲ οὐκέτι. They were not circumcised, no more are we; they kept not any Sabbath, no more doe we: they were not bound to abstinence from sundry kinds of meates, which are prohibited by Moses; nor are we neither. Which argument he also useth to the self-same purpose in his first Booke, *de monstr. Evang.* and sixth Chapter. And in his seventh, *de preparacione*, he resolves it thus, Εἰ οὐ διεπειρόμενοι Μωϋσες τοῖς χριστοῖς, &c. The Hebrewes which preceded Moses, and were quite ignorant of his Law (whereof he makes the Sabbath an especiall part) disposed their wayes according to a voluntary kind of pietie, Εἰω μὲν τῷ νητῷ τῷ θεού κακοποιεῖν, framing their lives and actions to the law of nature. This argument is also used by Epiphanus, who speaking of the first ages of the World, informs us that as then there was no difference among men, in matters of opinion, no *Indaisme*, nor kinde of heresie whatsoever: αλλ' οὐτις οὐδενί επινοεῖν εἰ τῇ αρτί αἰτίᾳ τῷ θεῷ καρδιῶντα εκκλαστα, αὐτοὶ οὐκέτι, &c. but that the faith doth now flourish in Gods Church was from the beginning. If so, no Sabbath was observed in the times of old, because none in his. I could enlarge my Catalogue, but that some testimonies are to be reserved to another place: when I shall come to shew you, that the commandement of the Sabbath was published to Gods people, by Moses onely; and that to none but to the *Iewes*. After so many of the Fathers, the moderne Writers may perhaps seeme unnecessary; yet take one or two. First, *Musculus*, (as Doctour *Baund* informes mee, for I take his word) who tells us that it cannot bee proved that the Sabbath was kept before the giving of the Law, either from *Adam* to *Noah*, or from the flood to the times of *Moses*, or of *Abraham* and his posterity. Which is no more then what wee shall see shortly out of *Eusebius*. *Hospinian* next, who though he faine would have the sanctifying of the

Cap. 6:

Adv heresies
l. 1. n. 5.

See Ch. 4.

2 Edit p 12.

Defens 1 cap 3

the Sabbath, to be as old as the beginning of the World; yet he confesseth at the last, *Patris idcirco Sabbathum obseruasse ante legem*, that for all that it cannot be made good by the Word of God, that any of the Fathers did observe it, before the Law. These two I have the rather cited, because they have beeene often vouched in the publicke controversie, as men that wished well to the cause, and say somewhat in it.

(5) We are now come unto particulars. And first we must begin with the first man *Adam*. The time of his Creation as the Scriptures tels us, the sixt day of the week, being as *Scaliger* conjectured in the first Edition of his *Worke*, the three and twentieth day of *Apriill*; and to the first Sabbath, *Sabbatum primum*, so hee calls it, was the foure and twentieth. *Petravus*, by his computation, makes the first Sabbath to be the first day of *November*; and *Scaliger*, in his last Edition, the five and twentieth of *October*: more neere to one another then before they were. Yet saith not *Scaliger*, that that *primum Sabbathum* had any reference to *Adam*, though first he left it so at large, that probably some might so conceive it: for in his later thoughts he declares his meaning to be this, *Sabbatum primum in quo Deus requievit ab opere Hexaemeri*. Indeed the *Chaldee paraphrase* seemes to affirme of *Adam*, that he kept the *Sabbath*. For where the 92 *Psalme* doth bear this Title, *A Song or Psalme for the Sabbath day*: the Authors of that *paraphrase* doe expound it thus, *Lauds & Canticum quod dixit homo primus pro die Sabbathi*, the Song or *Psalme* which *Adam* said for the *Sabbath day*. Somewhat more wary in this point was *Rabbi Kimchi*, who tels us how that *Adam* was created upon Friday about three of the clocke; fell at eleven, was censured and driven out of *Paradise* at twelve, that all the residue of that day, and the following night he bemoned his miseries; was taken into grace next morning, being *Sabbath day*; and taking then into consideration all the works of God, brake out into such words as those, al-

D

though

Emend. temp.
l. 5.Doctrina temp.
l. 4 c. 6

though not the same. A tale that hath as much foundation, as that narration of *Zanchie*, before remembred. Who though he seeme to put the matter out of doubt with his three *non dubito's*, that *Christ* himselfe did sanctifie the first *Sabbath*, with our Father *Adam*; and did command him ever after to observe that day: yet in another place, he makes it onely a matter of probability, that the commandement of the *Sabbath*, was given at all to our first parents. *Quomodo autem sanctificavit? Non solum decreto & voluntate, sed re ipsa; quia illum diem, (ut non pauci volunt & probabile est) mandavit primis parentibus sanctificandum.* So easily doth he overthrow his former structure. But to return unto the *Rabbins*, and this dreame of theirs, Besides the strangenesse of the thing, that *Adam* should continue not above eight houres in *Paradise*, and yet give names to all the creatures, fal into such an heavy sleep, and have the woman taken out of him, that shee must be instructed, teinpted, and that both must sin, and both must suffer in so short a time: besides all this, the Christian Fathers are expresse, that *Adam* never kept the *Sabbath*. *Justin the Martyr*, in his Dialogue with *Trypho*, a learned Jew, makes *Adam* one of those, *di u' o'le'z. Covres, &c. τω' θεω' ευπίστω'*, which being neither circumcised, nor keeping any *Sabbath*, were yet accepted by the Lord. And so *Tertullian* in a Treatise written against the *Jewes*, affirmes of *Adam*, *quod nec circumcisum nec sabbatizans Deus eum instituerit*. Nay, which is more, he makes a challenge to the *Jewes*, to prove unto him if they could, that *Adam* ever kept the *Sabbath*. *Doceant Adamum sabbatizasse*, as hee there hath it. Which doubtlesse neither of them would have done, considering with whom the one disputed, and against whom the other wrote: had they not beeene very well assured of what they said. The like may be affirmed both of *Ensebitos*, and *Epiphanius*, two most learned Fathers. Whereof the first, maintayning positively that the *Sabbath* was first given by *Moses*, makes *Adam* one of those, which neither troubled him-

Jn 4. mandau.

Adv Iudeos.

De prepar. E.
v. ng 1.7. c. 8.

himselfe with Circumcision, *ιδε των Μαριων Ιδαιων τετρακοσιων*, nor any of the Lawes of *Moses*; The other reckoneth him amongst those also, who lived according to that faith, which when he wrote, was generally received in the Christian Church. Therefore no *Sabbath* kept by our Father *Adam*.

Adv heret.
1.1. x. 5.

(6) But whatsoever *Adam* did, *Abel*, I hope, was more observant of this duty. Thus some have said indeed, but on no authority. It is true the Scriptures tell us, that he offered *Sacrifice*: but yet the Scriptures do not tell us, that in his *Sacrifices* he had more regard unto the *seventh day*, then to any other. To offer *Sacrifice*, he might learne of *Adam*, or of naturall reason, which doth sufficiently instruct us, that we ought all to make some publick testimony of our subjection to the Lord. But neither *Adam*, did observe the *Sabbath*, nor could *nature* teach it, as before is shewne. And howsoever some Moderne Writers have conjectured, and conjectured onely, that *Abel* in his *Sacrifices* might have respect unto the *Sabbath*: yet those whom we may better trust, have affirm'd the contrary. For *Justin Martyr* disputing against *Trypho*, brings *Abel* in for an example; that neither *Circumcision* nor the *Sabbath*, the two great glories of the *Jewes*, were to be counted necessary. For if they were, saith hee, God had not had so much regard to *Abels Sacrifice*, being as hee was uncircumcised: and then he add. *ο μη γε παραβαλλοντος, &c. τη' θεω' ευπίστω*, that though he was no *Sabbath-keeper*, yet was he acceptable unto God. And so *Tertullian*, that God accepted of his *Sacrifice*, though he were neither circumcised, nor kept the *Sabbath*. *Abelem offerentem sacrificia incircumcisum neque sabbatizantem laudavit Deus, accepta ferens qua in simplicitate cordis offerebat.* Yea, and hee brings him also into his challenge, *Doceant Abel hostiam Deo sanctam offerentem, Sabbath religionem placuisse*: which is directly contrary to that, which is conjectured by some Moderne Writers. So *Epiphanius* also makes him one of those, who lived accor-

Adv. Iudeos.

Adv. heret. 1.1.
n. 5.

ding to the tendries of the Christian Faith. The like hee also faith of *Serb*, whom God raised up instead of *Abel*, to our Father *Adam*. Therefore no *Sabbath* kept by either.

(7) It is conceived of *Abel* that hee was killed in the one hundred and thirtieth yeare of the Worlds Creation: of *Enos*, *Serbs sonne*, that he was borne anno two hundred thirty six. And till that time there was no *Sabbath*. But then, as some conceive, the *Sabbath* day began to be had in honour, because it is set downe in Scripture, that then began men to call upon the Name of the Lord. That is, " as *Torniellus* descants upon the place, then, were spirituall Congregations instituted, as wee may probably conjecture, certaine set formes of Prayers and Hymnes devised to set forth Gods glory, certaine set times and places also set apart for those pious duties: pricipue diebus Sabbathi, especially the *Sabbath* dayes, in which most likely they began to abstaine from all servile works, in honour of that God, whom they well knew had rested on the seventh day from all his labours. Sure *Torniellus* minde was upon his *Martins*, when he made this Paraphrase. Hee had not else gathered a *Sabbath* from this Text, considering that not long before hee had thus concluded; *That sanctifying of the Sabbath here on earth was not in use, until the Law was given by Moses*. But certainly this Text will beare no such matter, were it considered as it ought. The *Chuldee Paraphrase* thus reades it, *Tunc in diebus ejus incepserunt filii hominum, ut non orarent in nomine Domini*; which is quite contrary to the English. Our Bibles of the last Translation in the margin, thus; then began men to call themselves by the name of the Lord: and generally the *Iewes*, as *Saint Hierome* tells us, doe thus glasse upon it, *Tunc primum in nomine Domini, & in similitudine eius fabricata sunt idola*; that then began men to set up Idols both in the name, and after the similitude of God. *Ainsworth* in his Translation thus, Then began men prophaneley to call upon the Name of the Lord,

Gen. 4.
Anno
236, &c. 4.

V. m. 3. of this
Chapter.

Qu. bebraic. in
in Gen.

Lord: who tells us also in his *Annotations* on this Text, out of *Rabbi Maimony*, that in these dayes *Idolatry tooke its first beginning, and the people worshipped the starres and all the host of Heaven*; so generally that at the last there were few left which acknowledged God, as *Enoch*, *Methuselah*, *Noah*, *Sem*, and *Heber*. So that wee see not any thing in this Text, sufficient to produce a *Sabbath*. But take it as the *English* reades it, which is agreeable to the *Greeke*, and *valgar Latine*; and may well stand with the original: yet will the cause be little better. For men might call upon Gods Name, and have their publick meetings & set formes of Prayer, without relation to the seventh day more then any other. As for this *Enos*, *Eusebius* propo-
teth him unto us, *ως αρχτερ θεοφιλος*, as the first man commended in the Scripture for his love to God: that we by his example might learn to call upon Gods Name with assured hope. But yet withall he tells us of him, that he observed not any of those Ordinances which *Moses* taught unto the *Iewes*, whereof the *Sabbath* was the chiefe; as formerly we observed in *Adam*. And *Epiphanius* rankes him amongst those Fathers, who lived according to the rules of the *Christian Church*: Therfore no *Sabbath* kept by *Enos*.

(8) We will next looke on *Enoch*, who, as the Text tells us, *walked with God*, and therefore doubt wee not, but he would carefully have kept the *Sabbath*, had it been required. But of him also, the Fathers generally lay the same, as they did before of others. For *Justin Martyr* not onely makes him one of those which without Circumcision and the *Sabbath*, had been approved of by the Lord: but pleads the matter more exactly. The substance of his plea is this, that if the *Sabbath* or circumcision were to be counted necessary to eternall life, wee must needs fall upon this absurd opinion, *ως τε αυτες θεες μη ούλος, τε κατηπονητας*, that the same God whom the *Iewes* worshipped, was not the God of *Enoch*, and of other men about those times: which neither had been

De p. preparat.
EVANG 17, 3.

Dial. cum Try.
phone.

Lib. 4 cap 30.

Adv. Iudeos.

De Demonstr. 4. c. 6.

Scal. de Emend. Temp. 1. 7.

Dede in Gen. 4.

*Circumcised, ωντες οὐδεὶς εἰπεῖται, nor kept the Sabbath, nor any other Ordinances of the Law of Moses. So Irenaeus speaking before of Circumcision and the Sabbath, placeth this Enoch among those, qui sine iis qua predicta sunt justificationem adepti sunt, which had beene justified without any the Ordinances before remembred. Tertullian more fully yet. Enoch justissimum nec circumcisum, nec sabbatizantem, de hoc mundo translulit, &c. Enoch that righteous man being neither Circumcised nor a Sabbath-keeper, was by the Lord translated, and law not death, to be an Item or instruction unto us, that we, without the burden of the Law of Moses, shall be found acceptable unto God. Hee sets him also in his challenge, as one whom never any of the Iewes could prove, *Sabbati cultorem esse*, to have beene a keeper of the Sabbath. Eusebius too, who makes the Sabbath one of Moses institutions, hath laid of Enoch, that hee was neither circumcised, nor medled with the Law of Moses: ἀντίτυπος δὲ χριστινῶς, διὸς καὶ Ισαῦκως, &c. and that hee lived more like a Christian, than a Jew. The same Eusebius in his seventh de preparacione, and Epiphanius in the place before remembred, affirme the same of him, as they do of Adam, Abel, Seth, and Enos: and what this Epiphanius saith of him, that hee affirme also of his sonne, Methusalem. Therefore nor Enoch, nor Methusalem ever kept the Sabbath. Its true, the Ethiopians in their Calendar have a certain period, which they call Sabbathum Enoch, Enoch's Sabbath. But this consisteth of seven hundred yeares, and hath that name, either because Enoch was borne in the seventh Century from the Creation, viz. in the yeare six hundred twenty two, or because he was the seventh from Adam. Its true, that many of the Iewes, and some Christians too, have made this Enoch an Embleme of the heavenly and eternall Sabbath, which shall never end: because he was the seventh from Adam, and did never taste of death, as did the six that went before him. But this is no Argument, I trow, that*

Enoch

Enoch ever kept the Sabbath whiles hee was alive. Note that this Enoch was translated about the yeare nine hundred eighty seven: and that Methusalem died but one yeare onely before the Floud, which was 1655. And so farre we are lately come, without any rub.

(9) To come unto the Floud it selfe, to Noah, who both saw it, and escaped it; it is affirmed by some, that he kept the Sabbath: and that both in the Arke, and when he was released out of it, if not before. Yea, they have arguments also for the proote hereof, but very weake ones: such as they dare not trust themselves. It is delivered in the eighth of the Booke of Genesis, that after the return of the Dove into the Arke, Noah stayed yet other sevendayes before he sent her forth againe. What then? This seemes unto Hespinian to be an argument for the Sabbath.

In historia diluvii, columba ex area emissæ septenario die-rum intervallo, ratione sabbati videntur. So hee, and so verbatim, Iosias Simler, in his Comment on the twentieth of Exodus. But to this argument, if at the least it may be honoured with that name, Tostatus hath returned an answere as by way of prophecie. He makes this Quare first, sed quare ponit hic, quod Noe expectabit semper septem dies, &c. Why Noah, betwixt every sending of the Dove, expected just seven dayes, neither more nor lesse: and then returns this answere to it, such as indeed doth excellently satisfie both his own Quare, and the present argument.

Resp. quod Noe intendebat scire utrum aquæ cessasset, &c. Noah (saith he) desired to know whether the waters were decreased. Now since the waters being a moyst body, are regulated by the Moone, Noah was most especially to regard her motions: for as she is either in opposition or conjunction with the Sunne, in her increase or in her wane, there is proportionably an increase or falling of the waters. Noah then considering the Moone in her severall quarters, which comonly we know are at seven dayes distance, sent forth his Birds to bring him tydings: for the Text tells us

v. 10 & 12.

De sc. l. c. 3.

In Gen. 8.

“ that he sent out the *Raven* and the *Dove* foure times.
 “ And the fourth time, the Moon being then in the last
 “ quarter, when both by the ordinary course of nature
 “ the waters usually are, and by the will of God were
 “ then much decreased: the *Dove* which was sent out
 “ had found good footing on the earth, and returned no
 “ more. So farre the learned *Abulensis*; which makes
 cleere the case. Nor stand wee onely here, upon our de-
 fence. For wee have prooife sufficient that *Noah* never
 kept the *Sabbath*. *Insti* the *Martyr*, and *Zenobius* both
 make him one of those, which without *circumcision* & the
Sabbath, were very pleasing unto God, and also justified
 without them. *Tertullian*, positively saith it, that God
 delivered him from the great water floud, *nec circum-
 cisum, nec sabbatizantem*: and chalengeth the *Jewes* to
 prove if any way they could, *sabbatum observasse*, that he
 kept the *Sabbath*. *Eusebius* also tells us of him, that being
 a just man, and one whom God prelivered as a remayning
 sparke to kindle piety in the World, yet knew not any-
 thing that pertained to the *Jewish Ceremony*: not *Cir-
 cumcision*, *ετε ει τοις αλλοις τοις γυναικωνις θεων μετα γυναικοις*,
 nor any other thing ordained by *Moses*. Remember that
Eusebius makes the *Sabbath* one of *Moses* Ordinances.
 Finally, *Epiphanius* in the place before remembred, ranks
Noah in this particular, with *Adam*, *Abel*, *Seth*, *Enos*,
 and the other *Patriarchs*.

(10) Its true, that *Joseph Scaliger* once made the day,
 whereon *Noah* left the *Arke*, and offered sacrifice to the
 Lord, to be the *seventh day of the week*, 28. *Decembris*,
*feria septima, egressus Noah, omnia et exerciticia im-
 molavit Deo*, saith his first Edition. Which were enough
 to caule some men, who infinitely admire his *Dictates*,
 from thence to have derived a *Sabbath*: had hee not
 changed his minde in the next Edition, and placed this
 memorable action, not on the *seventh day*, but the *fourth*.
 I say it might have caused some men, for all men would
 not so have doted, as from a special accident to conclude a
 practice.

Vbi supra.

Adv. Judaeos.

De demonfr. l. 1.
c. 6.De Emendat.
Temp. l. 3.

practice. Considering especially that there is no ground
 in Scripture to proove that those before the *Law*, had in
 their *Sacrifices* any regard at all to set times and dayes;
 either unto the *sixt day*, or the *seventh*, or *eighth*, or any
 other: but did their service to the Lord, I mean the pub-
 licke part thereof, and that which did consist in externall
 action, according as occasion was admistred unto
 them. The offerings of *Cain* and *Abel*, for ought we can
 informe our selves, were not very frequent. The Scrip-
 ture tells us that it was in *processe of time*; at the *yeares* *Gen. 4.3.*
 end as some expound it. For at the *yeares end*, as *Ains-
 worth* noteth; men were wont in most solemne manner,
 to offer *sacrifice* unto *God*, with thanks for all his bene-
 fits, having then gathered in their fruits. The *Law of Mo-
 ses* so commanded; the ancient Fathers so observed it, as
 by this place we may conjecture: and so it was accusto-
 med too among the *Gentiles*; their ancient *Sacrifices* and
 their *Assemblies* to that purpose, (as *Aristotle* hath infor-
 med us) being after the gathering in of fruits. No day
 selected for that use, that we can heare of. This *Sacrifice*
 of *Noah*, as it was remarkable, so it was occasionall: an
Eucharisticall Oblation for the great deliverance, which
 did that day befall unto him. And had it hapned on the
 seventh day, it were no argument that hee made choice
 thereof as most fit and proper, or that he used to sacrifice
 more upon that day, then on any other. So that of *A-
 brraham* in the twelfth of *Genesys*, was occasionall only.
 The *Lord* appeared to *Abraham* saying, *unto thy seed will
 I give this land* (the land of *Canaan*.) And then it follow-
 eth that *Abraham* builded there an *Altar unto the Lord*,
 who appeared unto him. The like hee did when hee first
 set his footing in the promised land, and pitched his *Tents*
 not farre from *Bethel*, *Vers. 8.* and when hee came to
 plant in the *Plaine of Mamre*, in the next Chapter. See *Vers. 18.*
 the like, *Gen. 21.33. & 1.22,13.* Of *Isaac*, *Gen. 26.25.*
 Of *Jacob*, *Gen. 28. 8. & 31.54. & 33.20. & 35.7.14.*
No

No mention in the Scripture of any Sacrifice or publick worship, but the occasion is set downe. *Hoc ratio naturalis dictat, ut de donis suis honoretur imprimis ipse quis dedit.* Naturall reason, saith *Rupertus*, could instruct them, that God was to be honoured with some part of that, which he himselfe had given unto them: but naturall reason did not teach them, that one day differed from another.

C H A P.



C H A P. III.

That the SABBATH was not kept from the Floud to Moses.

- (1) The sonnes of Noah did not keepe the Sabbath.
- (2) The Sabbath could not have been kept, in the dispersion of Noahs sonnes, had it been commanded.
- (3) Diversity of Longitudes and Latitudes, must of necessity make a variation in the Sabbath.
- (4) Melchisedeck, Heber, Lot, did not keepe the Sabbath.
- (5) Of Abraham and his sonnes, that they kept not the Sabbath.
- (6) That Abraham did not keepe the Sabbath in the confession of the Iewes.
- (7) Jacob nor Iob no Sabbath-keepers.
- (8) That neither Ioseph, Moses, nor the Israelites in Egypt did observe the Sabbath.
- (9) The Israelites not permitted to offer Sacrifice while they were in Egypt.
- (10) Particular proofes that all the Morall Law was both knowne and kept amongst the Fathers.

(1)



EE are now come unto the hither side of the Floud, to the sonnes of Noah. To whom, the Hebrew-Doctors say, their Father did bequeath seven several Commandements, which they and their posterity were bound to keepe. *Septem precepta acceperunt filii Noah, &c.* as *Shindler* reckoneth them

them out of *Rabbi Maimony*. First, That they dealt uprightly with every man : Secondly , That they should blesse and magnifie the Name of God : Thirdly, that they abstained from worshipping false gods, and from all Idolatry : Fourthly, That they forbear all unlawfull lusts and copulations : The fift against shedding bloud : The sixt against theft and robbery : The seventh and last, a prohibition not to eat the flesh, or any member of a beast, taken from it when it was alive ; whereby all cruelty was forbidden. These precepts whosoever violated, either of *Noahs sonnes*, or their posterity, was to be smitten with the sword. Yea, these Commandements were reputed so agreeable to *nature*, that all such *Heathens* as would yee'd to obey the same, were suffered to remaine and dwell amongst the *Israelites*, though they received not *Circumcision*, nor any of the Ordinances which were given by *Moses*. So that amongst the precepts given unto the sonnes of *Noah*, we find no footstep of the *Sabbath*. And where a Moderne Writer, whom I spare to name, hath made the keeping of the *Sabbath*, a member of the second precept, or included in it ; it was not so advisedly done : there being no such thing at all, either in *Schindler*, whom he cites ; nor in *Cunens*, who repeats the selfe-same precepts, from the selfe-same *Rabbi*. Nay, which is more, the *Rabbin* out of whom they cite it, doth in another place, exclude expresaely the observation of the *Sabbath* out of the number of these precepts given the sonnes of *Noah*. *The man and woman-servant*, saith he, *which are commanded to keepe the Sabbath*, *are servants that are circumcised, or baptizied, &c.* But servants not circumcised nor baptizied, but onely such as have received the seven Commandements given to the sonnes of *Noah*, *they are as sojourning strangers, and may do worke for themselves openly on the Sabbath, as any Israelite may on a working day*. So *Rabbi Maimony* in his *Treatise of the Sabbath*, Chap. 20. S 14. If then wee finde no *Sabbath* amongst the sonnes of *Noah*, whereof some of them were the sonnes of their Fathers pietie:

*Cunens de re-
pub. Hebr. 2.19.*

*Ap. Ainsworth
in Exod. 20.*

piety : there is no thought of meeting with it, in their children or their childrens children ; the builders of the *Tower of Babel*. For they being terrified with the late Deluge, as some conjecture , and to procure the name of great undertakers, as the Scripture saith; resolved to build themselves a Towre , unto the top whereof, the waters should in no wile reach. A worke of a most vast extent, if we may credit those reports that are made thereof; and followed by the people, as *Josephus* tells us, with their utmost industry, *there being none amongst them idle*. If none amongst them would be idle ; as likely that no day was spared from so great an action , as they conceived that worke to be. Those that durst bid defiance to the Heaven of God , were never like to keepe a *Sabbath* to the God of Heaven. This action was begun and ended , *Anno 1940*, or thereabouts.

*Antiqu. Iud. 1.1.
cap. 5.*

(2) To ruinate these vain attempts; it pleased the Lord first to confound the language of the people, which before was one ; and after to disperse them over all the earth. By meanes of which dispersion , they could not possibly have kept one and the same day for a *Sabbath*, had it been commanded: the dayes in places of a different *longitude*, which is the distance of a place from the first *Meridian*, beginning at such different times , that no one day could be precisely kept amongst them. The prooofe and ground whereof , I will make bold to borrow from my late learned friend *Natha: Carpenter*; that I may manifest in some sort the love I bore him : though probably I might have furnished out this argument, from mine own wardrobe ; at least have had recourse to many other learned men , who have written of it. For that the difference of time , is varied according to the difference of *longitudes*, in divers places of the earth may be made manifest to every mans understanding, out of these two principles : First , if the earth is *sphæricall*, and secondly, that the Sunnedoth compassle it about in twenty fourre houres. From hence it comes to passe , that places situate

situate *Eastward* see the Sunne sooner then thole do, that are placed *Westward*. And that with such a different proportion of time, that unto every hour of the Sunnes motion, there is assigned a certaine number of miles upon the *Earth*: every fifteen degrees, which is the distance of the *Meridians*, being computed to make one hour; and every fifteene miles upon the earth, correspondent to one minute of that hour. By this wee may perceive, how soone the noon-tide hapneth in one City before another. For if one City stands *Eastward* of another, the space of three of the aforesaid *Meridians*, which is 2700. miles; it is apparent that it will enjoy the noon-tyde, no lesse then three hours before the other: and consequently in 10800. miles, which is halfe the compasse of the earth, there will be found no lesse then twelve hours difference in the rising and setting of the Sunne, as also in the noon and midnight. The reason of which difference of times, is as before we said the difference of *longitudes*, wherein to every hour, *Cosmographers* have allotted fifteene degrees in the Suns diurnall motion: so that fifteen degrees being multiplied by twenty four hours, which is the naturall day, the product will be 360, which is the number of degrees in the whole cirele. Now in these times, wherein the sonnes of *Noah* dispersed themselves, in cale the *Sabbath* was to have been kept, as simply *morall*; it must needs follow, that the *morall Law* is subject unto manifold mutations and uncertainties, which must not be granted. For spreading as they did over all the *earth*, some farther, some at shorter distance; and thereby changing *Longitudes* with their habitations: they must of meer necessity alter the difference of times and daies, and so could keepe no day together. Nor could their issue since their time observe exactly and precisely the self-same day, by reason of the manifold transportation of *Colonies*, and transmigration of Nations from one Region to another; whereby the times must of necessity be supposed to vary. The Author of the *Practice of Pietie*, though he plead hard

hard for the *moralitie* of the *Sabbath*, cannot but confess, " that in respect of the diversitie of the *Meridians*, and the unequall rising and setting of the Sunne, every day varieth in some places a quarter, in some halfe, in others an whole day: therefore the *Jewish Sabbath* cannot (saith he) be precisely kept in the same instant of time, every where in the *World*. Certainly if it cannot now, then it never could: and then it will be found, that some at least of *Noahs* posterity, and all that have from them descended, either did keep at all no *Sabbath*, or not upon the day appointed; which comes all to one. Or else it needs must follow that God imposed a Law upon his people, which in it selfe without relation to the frailty, *ne dum* to the iniquity of poore man, could not in possibility have been observed: Yea, such a Law, as could not generally have been kept, had *Adam* still continued in his perfect innocence.

(3) To make this matter yet more plaine, It is a *Corollary* or conclusion in *Geographie*, that if two men doe take a journey from the self-same place, round about the earth: the one *Eastward*, the other *Westward*, and meet in the same place againe: it will appeare that hee which hath gone *East*, hath gotten; and that the other going *Westward*, hath lost a day, in their accompt. The reason is, because hee that from any place assigned doth travaile *Eastward*, moving continually against the proper motion of the Sunne, will shorten sonewhat of his day: taking so much from it, as his journey in proportion of distance from the place assigned, hath first opposed, and so anticipated in that time, the diurnall motion of the Sunne. So daily gaining something from the length of day; it will amount in the whole circuit of the *Earth* to twenty four hours, which are a perfect naturall day. The other going *Westward*, and seconding the courie of the Sunne by his own journey, will by the same reason adue as much proportionably, unto his day, as the other lost, and in the end will lose a day in his accompt. For demonstration of the

the which, suppose of these two Travellers, that the former for every fifteen miles, should take away one minute from the length of the day : and the latter adde as much unto it, in the like proportion of his journey. Now by the *Golden Rule*, if every fifteene miles substract or adde one minute in the length of the day; then must 21 600. miles, which is the compasse of the Earth, adde or substract 1 440 minutes, which make up twenty foure houres, a just naturall day. To bring this matter home, unto the businesse now in hand, suppose we that a *Turk*, a *Jew*, & a *Christian*, should dwell together at *Hierusalem*, whereof the one doth keep his *Sabbath* on the *Friday*; the other, on the *Saturday*; and the third sanctifieth the *Sunday*: then, that upon the *Saturday*, the *Turke* begin his journey *Westward*, and the *Christian*, *Eastward*; so as both of them compassing the World, do meet again in the same place; the *Jew* continuing where they left him. It will fall out, that the *Turke* by going *Westward*, having lost a day; and the *Christian*, going *Eastward*, having got a day: one and the self-same day, will be a *Friday*, to the *Turke*; a *Saturday*, unto the *Jew*; and a *Sunday* to the *Christian*; in case they calculate the time exactly, from their departure to their returne. To prove this further, yet by a matter of fact. The *Hollanders* in their *Discovery of Fretule Maire*, *Anno 1615.* found by comparing their accompt, at their comming home, that they had cleerly lost a day (for they had traualied *Westward* in that tedious Voyage:) that which was *Munday* to the one, being the *Sunday* to the other. And now what should these people do when they were returnd? If they are bound by *nature*, and the *morall Law*, to sanctifie precisely one day in *seven*, they must then sanctifie a day a part from their other Countrymen; and like a crew of *Schismaticks*, divide themselves from the whole body of the Church: or to keepe order, and comply with other men, must of necessity be forced to go against the *law of nature*, or the *morall law*; which ought not to be violated for any by-respect-whatever. But to

return unto Noahs sonnes, whom this case concernes; It
might, for ought we know, be theirs in this dispersion, in
this removing up and downe, and from place to place.
What shall we thinke of those that planted *Northwards*,
or as much extremely *Southwards*; whose issue now, are
to be found, as in part is known, neere and within the *Polar*
circles: what *Sabbath* think we could they keepe? Some
times a very long one sure, and sometimes none: indeed
none at all, taking a *sabbath*, as wee do, for one day in se-
ven. For neere the *Polar Circles*, as is plainly known, the
dayes are twenty fourre hours in length. Betweene the
Circle and the *Pole*, the day, if so it may be called, increa-
seth first by weeks, and at last by moneths; till in the end,
there is six moneths perpetuall day, and as long a night.
No roome in those parts for a *Sabbath*. But it is time to
leave these speculations, and return to practice.

(4) And first we will begin with *Melchisedech*, King of *Salem*, the Priest of the most high God, *Rex idem hominumque divumque sacerdos*; a type and figure of our Saviour; whose Priesthood still continueth in the holy Gospell. With him the rather, because it is most generally conceived, that he was *Scm* the Sonne of *Noah*. Of him it is affirmed by *Justin Martyr*, that hee was neither circumcised, nor yet kept the *Sabbath*, and yet most acceptable unto God, *Ανείτυντος ήν ὁ Ἰησούς τῷ υἱίστη Μελχισέδεκ, οὐ γάρ ἐν σαββατίῳ τῷ θεῷ εὐπέπειτε.* *Tertullian* also tels us of him, *Incircumcisum nec sabbatizantem ad sacerdotium Dei allectum esse*: and puts him also in his challenge, as one whom none amongst the *Jews* could ever prove to have kept the *Sabbath*. *Eusebius* yet more fully
“ then either of them: *Moses*, saith he, brings in *Melchisedech* Priest of the most high God, neither being circumcised, nor anointed with the holy Oyle, as was afterwards commanded in the Law; & *οὐκέτετο τοι εἰσιν εἰδόται*, no not so much as knowing that there was a *Sabbath*; and ignorant altogether of thole Ordina-

Dial. cum Try-
phone.
Adv. Judaeos.

Dem. L. I. C. 6

8

" ces, which were imposed upon the Jewes, and living
" most agreeably unto the *Gospel*. Somewhat to that
purpose also doth occurre, in his leuenthde *praparatione*.
Melchisedec wholoever he was, gave meeting unto *Abraham*, about the yeare of the World, 2118: and if we
may suppose him to be *Sem*, as I think we may, hee lived
till *Isaac* was fifty yeares of age, which was long after
this famous enterview. Now what these Fathers say of
Sem, if *Sem* at least was he whom the Scriptures call *Mel-*
chisedech; the same almost is said of his great grand-child
Heber: he being named by *Epiphanius* for one of those,
who lived according to the faith of the *Christian Church*;
wherein no *Sabbath* was observed in that Fathers time.
And here we will take *Lot* in too, although a little before
his time, as one of the Posterity of *Heber*; that when
we come to *Abraham*, wee may keepe our selves within
his Family. Him, *Justin Martyr*, and *Irenaeus* both, in
the places formerly remembred, make to be one of those,
which without *Circumcision* & the *Sabbath*, were accep-
table to the Lord, and by him justified. And so *Tertullian*,
that *sine legi observatione*, (*Sabbath*, and *Circumcision*,
and the like) *de Sodomorum incendio liberatus est*. Ther-
fore nor *Lot*, nor *Heber*, nor *Melchisedech* ever kept the
Sabbath.

(5) For *Abraham* next, the Father of the Faithfull, with whom the Covenant was made, and *Circumcision*, as a seale, annexed unto it: The Scripture is exceeding co-
pious in setting downe his life and actions, as also of the
lives and actions of his Sonne, and Nephewes; their fit-
tings and remoues, their Sacrifices, formes of Prayer, and
whatsoever else was signall in the whole course of their
affaires: but yet no mention of the *Sabbath*. Though such
a memorable thing, as sanctifying of a constant day unto
the Lord, might probably have beene omitted in the for-
mer Patriarkes, of whom there is but little left, save their
names and ages; as if they had beene only brought into the
story,

story, to make way for him: yet it is strange that in a
punctuall and particular relation of his life and piety, there
should not be one *Item* to point out the *Sabbath*, had it
been observed. This is enough to make one thinke there
was no such matter. *Et quod non inveni usquam, esse pa-*
tes nusquam, in the Poets language. I grant indeed that
Abraham kept the *Christian Sabbath*, in *righteousnesse*
and *holinesse* serving the *Lord his God*, all the dayes of his
life: and so did *Isaac* and *Jacob*. *Sanctificate diem Sabba-*
ti, saith the Prophet *Jeremiah* to the *Jewes*, i. e. *ut omne*
tempus vita nostra in sanctificatione ducamus, *sicut fecerunt*
patres nostri, *Abraham*, *Isaac*, & *Jacob*, as *Saint Hierome*
glosseth it. Our venerable *Bede* also hath affirmed as
much, that *Abraham* kept indeed the *spirituall Sabbath*,
quo semper a servili, i. e. *noxia vacabat abtione*, whereby
he alwayes rested from the servile works of sinne: but that
he kept or sanctified any other *Sabbath*, the *Christian Fa-*
thers deny unanimously. *In his* the *Martyr* numbring up
the most of these before remembred, concludes; that they,
καὶ οὐαὶ οὐαὶ *Ἄραδον*, *καὶ οἱ τέττανοι ἀμαρτίας* *μετεπέ-*
στούσεις and so was *Abraham* after them, and all his chil-
dren untill *Moses*. And whereas *Trypho* had exacted a
necessary keeping of the *Law*, *Sabbaths*, *New-mooones*,
and *Circumcision*: the *Martyr* makes reply, that *Abra-*
ham, *Isaac*, *Jacob*, *Job*, and all the other *Patriarkes* both
before and after them untill *Moses* time; yea, and their
wives, *Sarah*, *Rebecca*, *Rachel*, *Lea*, and all the rest of
religious women unto *Moses* mother, *εἰς ὅλης τέττανος ε-*
ρεβλαῖσσαν, *εἰς ἀντοῖς ἔλασσον φύλαξσαν*, *παντὸν τοῦ δρόχου λαβά-*
σαν *καὶ τὸν Ἀράδαν* *τὸν μεταφυτόν*: neither kept any of them
all, nor had commandement so to do, till *Circumcision*
was enjoyned to *Abraham* and his Posterity. So pre-
nun, that *Abraham*, *sine Circumcisione & observatione*
Sabbatarum credidit Deo, without or *Circumcision* or the
Sabbath did beleve in *God*, which was imputed to him
for righteousness. And where the *Lord* objected in defence
of

In Hier. 17.

In Luc. 19:

In Dial. cum
Tryphone.

Lib. 4.30.

of their ancient Ceremonies, that *Abraham* had been circumcised : *Tertullian* makes reply, *scd ante placuit Deo quam circumcidetur*; *ne et tamen sabbatizavit*; that hee was acceptable unto God before his being circumcised; and yet he never kept the Sabbath. See more unto this purpose, in *Eusebius de Demonstr.* l. I. c. 6. *de preparat.* l. 7. c. 8. (where *Isaac* and *Jacob* are remembred too :) as also *Epiphanius adv. heret.* l. I. n. 5.

(6) Thus farre the ancient Christian Writers have declared of *Abraham*, that hee kept no Sabbath : and this in conference with the *Jew*, and in Bookes against them. Which doubtlesly they had never done, had there beeene any possibility for the *Jewes* to have proved the contrary. Some of the *Jewes* indeed, not being willing thus to lose their Father *Abraham*, have said, and written too, that he kept the Sabbath, as they do : and for a prooife thereof they ground themselves on that of *Genesis*, because that *Abraham obeyed my voyce, and kept my charge, my Commandements, my statutes and my laws*. The *Jewes* conclude from hence, as *Mercer* and *Tostatus* tell us, upon the text, that *Abraham* kept the Sabbath, and all other Ceremonies of the Law : as much I thinkē the one, as hee did the other. Who those *Jewes* were that said it, of what name & quality, that they have not told us: & it were too much for wardnes to credit any nameles *Jew*, before so many Christian Fathers. *Tostatus* though he do relate their dissent, yet belieues them not : And herein wee will rather follow him, then *Mercer*; who seemes a little to incline to that *Jewish* fancy. The rather since some *Jewes* of name and quality, have gone the same way, that the Fathers did, before remembred. For *Petrus Galatinus* tells us, how it is written in *Bereshith Ketanna*, or the lesser exposition upon *Genesis*, a Book of publike use, and great authority among them, that *Abraham* did not keepe the Sabbath. And this he tells us on the credio of *Rabbi Jacoban*, who saith expressly, that there, upon these words, *God blessed the seventh day; it is set downe positively, Non scripta est de-*

de Abrahamo observatio Sabbathi. And where it is objected for the *Jew*, that in case *Abraham* did not keep it, it was because it was not then commanded: this *Galatinus* makes reply, *Ex hoc saltet inferitur sabbati cultum non esse de lege naturae*, that therefore it is evident that the Sabbath is no part of the *Law of nature*. As for the text of *Genesis*, we may expound it well enough, and never find a Sabbath in it, which that it may be done with the least suspition, we will take the exposition of Saint *Chrysostome*, who very fully hath explained it. *Because he bath obeyed my voyce, &c.* Right, saith the Father, God said unto him, *Get thee out from thy Fathers house, and from thy kindred, and goe into the land that I shall shew thee*: and *Abraham went out*, *καὶ ἐτέλει τὰ ἐποιήσατο, καὶ τὰ ἀδηλατά ἐποιώντας*, and left a faire possession for an expectation: and this not wavering, but with all alacrity and readinesse. Then followeth his expectation of a sonne in his old age, (when nature was decayed in him) as the Lord had promised; his casting out of *Ismael*, as the Lord commanded; his readinesse to offer *Isaac*, as the Lord had willed, and many others of that nature. Enough to give occasion unto that applause, because he hath obeyed my voice; although hee never kept the Sabbath. Indeed the Sabbath could not have relation to those words in *Gen.* because it was not then commanded.

(7) Next looke on *Jacob* the heire as well of *Abrahams* travels, as of his faith. Take him as *Labans* sheepheard, and the Text informes us of the pains he tooke. *In the day time the drought consumed mee, and the frost by night, and the sleepe departed from mine eyes*. No time of rest, much more, no seventh part of his time allotted unto rest from his daily labours. And in his flight from *Laban*, it seemes hee stood not on the Sabbath. For though hee fled thence with his wives and children, and with all his substance; and that hee went but easily, according as the cattle and the children were able to endure: yet he went

Gen. 31.40.

forwards still without any resting. Otherwise *Laban*, who heard of his departure on the third day, and pursued after him a mayn, must needs have overtaken him before the seventh. Now for the rest of *Jacobs* time, when hee was settled in the Land appointed for him, and afterwards removed to *Egypt*; wee must referre you unto *Justin Martyr*, and *Eusebius*: whereof one saith expresly, *καὶ τὸν ἐρύθραν*, that hee kept no Sabbath; the other makes him one of those, which lived without the Law of *Moses*, whereof the Sabbath was a part. Having brought *Jacob* into *Egypt*, we should proceed to *Joseph*, *Moses*, and the rest of his off-spring there: but wee will first take *Job* along, as one of the posterity of *Abraham*; that after wee may have the more leisure to wait upon the *Israelites* in that house of bondage. I say as one of the posterity of *Abraham*, the fifth from *Abraham*, so *Eusebius* tells us; who saith, moreover, that hee kept no Sabbath. What " (saith he) shall we say of *Job*, that just, that pious, that " most blameless man? What was the rule whereby he " squared his life, and governed his devotions? Was any " part of *Moses* Law? Not so. *Αλλὰ οὐκέτε θεογος ε-* " *τηνίποτεν οὐν, οὐ τούτος ἀντις Ιερείς ή θεοφανίας οὐλαλ;* " Was any keeping of the Sabbath, or obseruation of any " other Jewish order? How could that be, saith he, con- " sidering that he was ancienter then *Moses*, and lived " before his Law was published? For *Moses* was the se- " venth from *Abraham*, and *Job* the eighth. So farre *Eusebius*. And *Justin Martyr* also joynes him with *Abra-* " ham and his Family, as men that took not heed of New " *Moyses*, or Sabbath, wherof see before, n. 5. I find indeed in Doctor *Bowen*, that *Theodore Beza* on his own authority hath made *Job* very punctuall, in sanctifying *septimum sabbatum quaque diem*, every seventh day at least, as God, saith he, from the beginning had appointed. But I hold *Beza* no fit match for *Justin*, and *Eusebius*; nor to be credited in this kinde, when they say the contrary, con- sidering in what times they lived, & with whom they dealt.

(8) And

see n. 5. of this chapter.

de monsfr. l. 1.

6.

2. Edit. p. 14.

(8) And now we come at last unto the *Israelites* in *Egypt*; from *Joseph*, who first broughte them thither, to *Moses* who conducted them in their flight from thence; and so unto the body of the whole Nation. For *Joseph*, first, *Eusebius* first tells us in the generall, that the same institution and course of life which by the Ordinance of *Christ* was preached unto the *Gentiles*, had formerly been commended to the ancient *Patriarkes*: particular instances whereof, he makes *Melechizedech*, and *Noah*, and *Enoch*, and *Abraham*, till the time of *Circumcision*. And then it followes, *ἔνεγις δ' αὐτὸν τοῦ Ἰωσήπος καὶ τοῦ Μωϋσέως χεῖρων εἰ τοῖς αἰγυπτίοις βασιλεῖσσι, &c. εἰ τοῖς Ἰσραηλίσσις ἀχέλαια.* That *Joseph* in the Court of *Egypt* long time before the Law of *Moses*, lived answerably to those ancient patternes, and not according as the *Jewes*. Nay, he affirmes the same of *Moses*, *τὴν καρνατοῦ διδόντον τὴν εργασίαν τῷ Ισραὴλ εἰρήνης*, the very Law-giver himselfe, the Chieftain of the Tribes of *Israel*. As for the residue of the people, we can expect no more of them, that they lived in bondage, under severe and cruell Masters: who called upon them day by day to fulfill their takes; and did expostulate with them in an heavy manner, in case they wanted of their Tale. The *Jewes* themselves can best resolve us in this point. And amongst them *Philo* doth thus describe their troubles. *Ἐμπάτετος τὸν εργαστηραῖς, &c.* The " Taskmasters or Overseers of the works were the most " cruell and unmercifull men in all the Country, who " laid upon them greater taskes than they were able to " endure: inflicting on them no lesse punishment then " death it selfe, if any of them, yea, though by reason of " infirmity, should withdraw himselfe from his daily " labour. Some were commanded to employ themselves " in the publick structures; others in bringing in materi- " als, for such mighty buildiggs; & greater exēres drains. " *λαβούντες*, never enjoying any rest either night or day, that " in the end they were even spent and tired with conti- " nuall travaille. *Ioseph* goeth a little further, and tells us this,

Dem. l. 1 c. 5.

See *Exod. 5.*
v. 5. & 14.

De vita Mosis
lib. 1.

Antiqu. Iud. lib.
2. c. 5.

this, that the *Egyptians* did not onely tire the *Israelites* with continual labour ; *οὐδὲ ἀπέχετο παίσασαν τὸν ἐπαγγέλτων*, but that the *Israelites* endeavoured to performe more then was expected. Assuredly in such a wofull state as this, they had nor leave, nor leisure, to observe the Sabbath. And lastly, *Rabbi Alaimony*, makes the matter yet more absolute, who saith it for a truth, that when they were in *Egypt*, *neque quiescere, vel sabbatum agere posuerunt*, they neither could have time to rest, nor to keepe the Sabbath, seeing they were not then at their owne disposing. So he ad *Deut. 5. 15.*

(9) Indeed it easilly may be beleaved, that the people kept no Sabbath in the Land of *Egypt*; seeing they could not be permitted in all that time of their abode there, to offer sacrifice : which was the easier duty of the two, and would lesse have tooke them from their labours. Those that accused the *Israelites* to have been wanton, lazy, and I know not what, because they did desire to spend one onely day in religious Exercises : what would they not have done, had they desisted every seventh day from the works imposed upon them. Doubtlesse, they had beene carried to the house of Correction, if not worse handled. I say in all that time they were not permitted to offer sacrifice in that Country : and therefore when they purposed to escape from thence, they made a suite to *Pharaoh*, that he would suffer them to go three dayes journey into the wildernesse, to offer sacrifice there to the Lord their God. Rather then so, *Pharaoh* was willing to permit them for that once, to sacrifice unto the Lord in the land of *Egypt*: and what said *Moses* thereunto ? *It is not meet* (saith he) *so to doe. For we shall sacrifice the abomination of the Egyptians to the Lord our God, before their eyes; and they will stone us.* His reaon was, because the Gods of the *Egyptians* were *Buls* and *Rammes*, and *Sheep* and *Oxen*, as *Lyra* notes upon that place : *salia vero anima- lia ab Hebreis erant immolanda, quod non permisissent E- gypciis in terra sua;* And certainly the *Egyptians* would

not

Opud Rytat. in
Decalog.

Exod. 8.

v. 26.

not endure to see their Gods knocked down, before their faces. If any then demand, wherein the Piety and Religion of Gods people did consist especially : wee must needs answere, that it was in the integrity and honesty of their conversation ; and that they worshipped God onely in the spirit and truth. Nothing to make it knowne that they were Gods people, *η μόνον θεοτεία καὶ πεπτό- μη*, but onely that they feared the Lord and were circumcised ; as *Epiphanius* hath resolved it : nothing but that they did acknowledge one onely God, & exercised themselves in justice, in modesty, in patience and long sufferring, both towards one another and amongst the *Egyptians* ; framing their lives agreeably to the will of God, and the law of nature. Therefore we may conclude with safety, that hitherto no Sabbath had been kept in all the World from the creation of our first Father *Adam*, to this very time; which was above 2500. yeares : no nor commanded to be kept amongst them in their generations.

57

Ad. heret. 1.
ber. 5.

(10) I say there was none kept, no nor none commanded : for had it been comanded, sure it had been kept. It was not all the pride of *Pharaoh*, or subtle tyranny of his subjects, that could have made them violate that sacred day, had it bin commended to them from the Lord. The miseries which they after suffered under *Antiochus*, rather then that they would prophane the Sabbath ; and those calamities which they chose to fall upon them by the hands of the *Romans* ; rather then make resistance upon that day, when lawfully they might have done it : are prooves sufficient, that neither force, nor feare, could now have wrought upon them not to keepe the same, had such a duty been commanded. Questionlesse, *Joseph* for his part, that did preferre a lothsome prison before the unchast imbraces of his Masters wife, would no lesse carefully have kept the Sabbath, then he did his chastity ; had there been any Sabbath then to have been obserued, either as dedicated by man, or prescribed by Law. And certainly either the Sabbath was not reckoned all this while,

while, in any part or branch of the *Law of Nature*: or else it findes hard measure in the Booke of God, that there should be particular proofes how punctually the rest of the *morall Law* was obserued and practised amongst the *Patriarches*; and not one word or *Item* that concernes the observation of the *Sabbath*. Now that the whole Law was written in the hearts of the Fathers, and that they had some knowledge of all the other Commandments, and did live accordingly: the Scripture doth sufficiently declare unto us. First, for the first, * *I am God all-sufficient, walke before me, and be thou perfect*. So said God to *Abraham*. Then *Jacob* going up from * *Babel*, to cleane his house from *Idolatry*; is prooфе enough that they were acquainted with the second. The pious care they had, not to take the Name of the *Lord their God in vain*, appears at full, in the religious making of their *Oaths*; * *Abraham* with *Abimelech*, and * *Jacob* with *Laban*. Next for the fifth Commandement, what duties *children owe their parents*, the practice of * *Isaac* and * *Jacob* doth declare abundantly, in being ruled by them in the choice of their wives, and readily obeying all their directions. So for the sin of *murder*, the history of *Jacobs* * *children*, and the grieved Fathers curse upon them for the slaughter of the *Sichamites*; together with Gods precept given to * *Noah* against shedding bloud; shew us that both it was forbidden, and condemned being done. The * *continity* of *Joseph* before remembred; and the punishment threatened to * *Abimelech* for keeping *Sarab*, *Abraham* wife: the * quarrelling of *Laban* for his stolne *Idols*; and * *Josephs* pursuite after his brethren for the silver cup that was supposed to be purloyned: are prooфе sufficient that *adultery* and *theft* were detestable in lawfull. And last of all, *Abimelechs* reprehension of * *Abraham* and * *Isaac* for bearing *Jaafarim* in the denial of their wives; shew plainly that they had the knowledge of that Law also. The like may also be affirmed of their not coveting the wives

* Gen. 17.1.

* 25.2.

* 31.27 &c.

* 31.51.

* 24.67 &c.

* 28.13, 14.

* 34.26, 30

* 9.6.

* 39.8.

* 20.2.

* 31.30.

* 44.4.

* 10.9.

* 6.10.

wives and goods, or any thing that was their *Neighbours*. For though the history cannot tell us of mens secret thoughts: yet wee may judge of good mens thoughts by their outward actions. Had *Joseph* coveted his Masters wife, he might have enjoyed her. And *Job*, more home ^{10.31.25.} unto the point, affirmes expreſly of himselfe, *that his heart was never secretly enticed*: which is the same with this, that he *did not cover*. We conclude then, that seeing there is particular mention how all the residue of the commandments had beeне obserued and practised by the Saints of old; and that no word at all is found which concerneſ the *santifying of the Sabbath*: that certainly there was no *Sabbath sanctified* in all that time, from the Creation to the Law of *Moses*; nor reckoned any part of the *Law of Nature*, or any ſpeciall Ordinance of God.

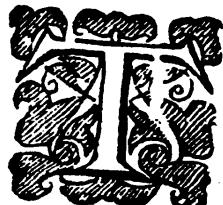


C H A P. IV.

The nature of the fourth Commandement; and that the SABBATH was not kept among the Gentiles.

(1) The Sabbath first made known in the fall of Manah. (2) The giving of the Decalogue; and how farre it bindeth. (3) That in the judgement of the Fathers, in the Christian Church, the fourth Commandement is of a different nature from the other nine. (4) The Sabbath was first given for a Law by Moses. (5) And being given was proper onely to the Iewes. (6) What moved the Lord to give the Israelites a Sabbath. (7) Why the seventh day was rather chosen for the Sabbath, then any other. (8) The seventh day not more honoured by the Gentiles, then the eighth or ninth. (9) The Attributes given by some Greeke Poets to the seventh day, no argument that they kept the Sabbath. (10) The Iewes derided for their Sabbath, by the Gracians, Romans, and Egyptians. (11) The division of the yeere into weekees not generally used of old, amongst the Gentiles.

(1)



Hus have wee shewne you how Gods Church continued without any Sabbath, the space of 2500. yeares and upwards; even till the children of Israel came out of Egypt. And if the Saints of God, in the

the line of Seth, and the house of Abraham; assigned not every seventh day for Gods publick worship; it is not to be thought that the posterity of Cain, and the sonnes of Canaan, were observant of it. To proceed: therefore in the history of the Lords owne people, as they observed no Sabbath when they were in Egypt; so neither did they presently after their departure thence. The day of their deliverance thence, was the seventh day; as some conceive it, which after was appointed for a Sabbath to them. *Torniellus* I am sure is of that opinion: and so is *Zanchie* two, who withall gives it for the reaon, why the seventh day was rather chosen for the Sabbath, then any other. *Poponus* die septima liberatus fuit ex Egypto; & tunc jussit in huius rei memoriam diem illam sanctificare. Which were it so, yet could not that day be a Sabbath, or a day of rest, considering the sudden and tumultuous manner of their going thence: their sonnes and daughters, maid servants, and men servants, the cattell and the strangers within their gates, being all put hardly to it, and fain to flie away, for their life and safety. And if Saint Austins note be true, and the note be his, that on the first day of the week, transgressi sunt filii Israel mare rubrum siccis pedibus, the Israelites went dry foot over the Red Sea, or Sea of Edom: then must the day before, if any, be the Sabbath day; the next seventh day after the day of their departure. But that day certainly was not kept, as a Sabbath day. For it was wholly spent in murmuring and complaints against God and Moses. They cryed unto the Lord, and they said to Moses, why hast thou brought us out of Egypt to die in the wildernes? Had it not been better farre for us to serve the Egyptians? Nothing in all this murmurings and seditious clamours, that may denote it for a Sabbath, for an holy Festivall. Nor do we finde that for the after times, they made any scruple of journeying on that day, till the Law was given unto the contrary, in Mount Sinai: which was the eleventh station after their escape from Egypt. It was the fancy of *Rabbi Solomon*, that the Sabbath was first

In quantum p. a.
cep. um.

S. r. m. de temp.
154.

Exod. 14. 11. &
12.

Exod.15.26.

first given in *Marah*, and that the sacrifice of the red Cow mentioned in the nineteenth of *Numbers*, was instituted at that time also. This fancy founded on these words in the Book of *Exodus*, *If then wilt diligently hearken to the voice of the Lord thy God, &c. then will I bring none of those diseases upon thee, that I brought on the Egyptians*. But *Tormellus*, and *Tostatus*, and *Lyra*, though himselfe few, count it no other then a *Jewish* and *Rabbinic* folly. Sure I am, that on the fifteenth day of the second moneth after their departure out of *Egypt*; being that day seven-night before the first *Sabbath* was discovered, in the fall of *Mannah*: we finde not any thing that implies either rest or worship. We read indeed how all the *Congregation* murmured as they did before against *Moses* and against *Aaron*, wishing that they had died in the land of *Egypt*, where they had bread their *bodies* full, rather then be destroyed with Famine. So eagerly they murmured, that to content them, God sent them *Quails* that night, and rained downe bread from Heaven next morning. Was this, thinks you the *sanctifying* of a *Sabbath* to the Lord their God? Indeed the next evening day that followed, was by the Lord commended to them for a *Sabbath*; and ratified by a great and signall miracle the day before: wherein it pleased him, to give them double what they used to gather on the former dayes, that they might rest upon the seventh, with the greater comfort. This was a preamble or preparative to the following *Sabbath*: for by this miracle, this rest of Gods from raining *Mannah*, on the seventh day, the people came to know which was precisely the seventh day from the Worlds Creation: whereof they were quite ignorant at that present time. *Pbilo* assures us in his third *Brooke* *almanach*, that the knowledge of that day on which God rested from his works, had been quite forgotten, *Malaties. 10.21. 7.14. 2.22. 2.23. 2.24. 2.25.* by reason of so many miseries which had befalne the World by fire and water, and to continuall till by this mira-

Exod.16.2.

miracle, the Lord revived again the remembrance of it. And in another place, when men had made a long enquiry after the birth day of the World, and were yet to seek: *καὶ μάζα περὶ τοῦ ἡγεμονοῦ τοῦ Γένεσιος ἀλλοι θαυμάζουσιν, τούτος ἡδύνατος εὐπάπιν, &c.* God made it knowne to them by a speciall miracle, which had so long beeene hidden from their Ancestors. The falling of a double portion of *Mannah* on the fixt day, and the not putrifying of it on the seventh; was the first light that *Moses* had to descre the *Sabbath*: which he accordingly commended unto all the people, to be a day of rest unto them; that as God ceased that day from tending, so they should rest from looking after their daily bread. But what need *Pbilo* to be produced, when wee have such an ample testimony from the word it selfe. For it is manifest in the story, that when the people, on the fixt day, had gathered twice as much *Mannah*, as they used to doe; according as the Lord had directed by his servant *Moses*: they understood not what they did, at least why they did it. *The Rulers of the Congregation*, as the Text informes us, *came and told Moses of it*: and he as God before had taught him, acquainted them, that *on the morrow should be the rest of the holy Sabbath unto the Lord*; and that they were to keepe the over-plus untill the morning. Nay, so farre were the people from knowing any thing of the *Sabbath*, or of Gods rest upon that day, that though the *Prophet* had thus preached unto them of a *Sabbaths* rest, the people gave small credit to him. For it is laid, that some of the people *went out to gather on the seventh day*, (which was the seventh day after, or the second *Sabbath* as some think) notwithstanding all that had been spoken, and that the *Mannah* stanke not, as on other dayes. So that this resting of the people, was the first *sanctifying of the Sabbath* mentioned in the *Scriptures*: and Gods great care to make provision for his people on the day before, the blessing he bestowed upon it. And this is that, which *Solomon* *larchis* tells

De vita Mosis,
l.1.Exod.16.5.
Vers.22.

Vers.23.

Vers.27.

tels us, as before we noted, *Benedixit ei* i.e. in *Mannah*, *quia operibus diebus septimanis descendit Omnis pro singulis, & sexto panis duplex*: *& sanctificavit eum* i.e. in *Mannah*, *quia non descendit omnino*. Nay, generally the Hebrew Doctours doe affirme the same: assuring us that the Commandement of the Sabbath is the foundation and ground of all the rest, as being given before them all, at the fall of *Mannah*: *Unde dicunt Hebraei sabbatum fundamentum esse aliorum praeceptorum, quod ante alia praecepta hoc datum sit, quando Mannah aspergunt*. So *Hospitius* tells us. Therefore the Sabbath was not given before, in their own confession. This hapned on the two and twentieth day of the second moneth after their comming out of *Egypt*; and of the world's Creation, *Anno 2044*. the people being then in the Wildernes of *Sin*, which was their seventh station.

(2) The seventh day after, being the nine and twentieth of the second moneth, is thought by some, I know not upon what authority, to bee that day whereon some of the people, distrusting all that *Moses* said, went out to gather *Mannah*, as on other dayes: but whether they were then in the Wildernes of *Sin*, or were incamped in *Dophkath, Alus, or Rephidim*, which were their next removes, that the Scriptures say not. Most likely that they were in the last station, considering the great busynesses there performed; the fight with *Amalek*, and the new ordering of the Government by *Iethro's counsaile*; and that upon the third day of the third moneth which was Thursday following, they were advanced so farre as to the Wildernes of *Sinai*. I say the third day of the third moneth: For when the Text hath it, *In the third moneth when the children of Israel were gone forth out of Egypt, the same day came they into the wilderness of Sinai*: by the same day is meant the same day of the moneth, which was the third day, being Thursday, after our Accompt. The morrow after went *Moses* up unto the Lord, and had commandement from

from him to sanctifie the people that day, and to morrow, and to make them ready against the third day: God meaning on that day to come downe in the eyes of all the people in Mount *Sinai*, and to make knowne his will unto them. That day being come, which was the Saturday or Sabbath, the people were brought out of the Campe to meet with God, and placed by *Moses* at the nether part of the Mountaine: *Moses* ascending first to God, and descending after to the people, to charge them that they did not passe their bounds before appointed. It seemes the Sabbaths rest was not so established, but that the people had been likely to take the pains to climbe the Mountain, and to behold the wonders which were done upon it; had they not had a speciall charge unto the contrary. Things ordered thus, it pleased the Lord to publish and proclame his Law unto the people, in thunder, smoake, and lightnings, and the noyse of a Trumpet; using therein the Ministry of his holy Angels: which Law we call the Decalogue, or the ten Commandements, and containes in it the whole morall Law, or the Law of nature. This had before been naturally imprinted in the mindes of men; however that in tract of time, the character thereof had been much defaced; so dimmed and darke ned that Gods own people stood in need of a new impression: and therefore was proclaimed in this solemne manner, that so the letter of the Law might leave the clearer stampe in their affections. A Law which in it selfe was generall and universall, equally appertaining both to Jew and Gentile; the Gentiles which know not the law, doing by nature the things contained in the Law, as Saint Paul hath told us: but as at this time published on Mount *Sinai*, and as delivered to the people by the hand of *Moses*, they obliged onely those of the house of *Israel*. *Zanchius* hath so resolved it amongst the Protestants, (not to say any thing of the Schoole-men who affirme the same:) ut *Politice & ceremoniales, sic etiam morales leges qua Decalogi nominis significantur, quatenus per Mosen traditae* *De Redempti.* *l. 1. c. 11. Th. 1.*

forasmuch Israelites, ad nos Christianos nihil pertinet, &c. As neither the *Judiciale* nor the *Ceremoniale*, so nor the *Morall Law* contained in the *Decalogue*, doth any way concern us Christians, as given by Moses to the *Jews*: but onely so farre forth, as it is consonant to the *Law of nature*, which bindes all alike; and after was confirmed and ratified by *Christ*, our King. His reason is, because that if the *Decalogue* as given by Moses to the *Jews*, did concerne the *Gentiles*; the *Gentiles* had been bound by the fourth Commandement, to observe the *Sabbath*, in as strict a manner as the *Jews*. *Cum vero cuncti ad huius dies sanctificationem nunguam fuerit Gentes obligatae, &c.* Since therefore it is manifest that the *Gentiles* never were obliged to observe the *Sabbath*, it followeth that they neither were, nor possibly could be bound to any of the residue, as given by Moses to the *Jews*. Wee may conclude from hence, that had the fourth Commandement been meeter *morall*, it had no lesse concerned the *Gentiles*, then it did the *Israelites*.

(3) For that the fourth Commandement is not of the same condition with the rest, is no new invention: The *Fathers* joyntly so resolve it. Its true that *Irenaeus* tells us, how God, the better to prepare us to eternall life, *Decalogi verba per servis suos omnibus similiter locutum est*, did by himselfe proclaim the *Decalogue* to all people equally: which therefore is to be in full force amongst us, as having rather beene enlarged then dissolved, by our Saviours comming in the flesh. Which wordes of *Irenaeus*, if considered rightly, must be referred to that part of the fourth Commandement which indeed is *Morall*; or else the fourth Commandement must not be reckoned as part or member of the *Decalogue*: because it did receive no such enlargement, as did the rest of the Commandements, by our Saviours preaching; (whereof see *Matth. 5, 6, and 7. Chapters*) but a dissolution rather by his practice. *Iustus the Martyr* more expressly, in his dispute with *Trigall a learned Jew*, maintaines the *Sabbath* to be only

Lib. 4 cap. 31.

Discourse
Moral.

onely a *Mosaicall Ordinance*; as we shall see anon more fully; and that it was imposed upon the *Israelites*, *nam non a populis ait utrum, nisi tuis transigas*, because of their hard-heartednesse, and irregularity. *Tertullian* also in his Treatise against the *Iewes*, saith that it was not *spirituale & aeternum mandatum*; *sed temporale, quod quandoque cessaret*, not a spirituall and eternall institution, but a temporall onely. Saint *Austin* yet morefully, that it is no part of the *morall Law*. For he divides the *Law of Moses* into these two parts, *Sacraments*, and *morall duties*: accounting *Circumcision*, the *new Moones*, *Sabbaths*, and the *Sacrifices* to appertain unto the first: *ad mores autem, non occides, &c.* and these Commandements, *Thou shalt not kill, nor commit adultery, nor bear false witness*, and the rest, to be contained within the second. Nay more, he tells us, that *Moses* did receive a *Law* to be delivered to the people, writ in two Tables made of stone by the Lords own finger: wherein was nothing to be found either of *Circumcision*, or the *Jewish Sacrifices*. And then he addes, *In illis igitur decem praeceptis, excepta Sabati observatione, dicatur nisi quid non sit observandum a Christiano*: Tell me, saith he, what is there in the *Decalogue*, except the observation of the *Sabbath day*, which is not carefully to be observed of a *Christian man*. To this wee may referre all those severall places, wherein hee calls the fourth Commandement, *praeceptum figuratum*, & *in umbra positum*, a *Sacrament*, a *shadow*, and a *figure*: as *Tra& the third in Job. 1. and Tract. 17. and 20. in Job. 5. ad Bonifac. 1. 3. T. 7. contra Faust. Manich. 1. 19. c. 18. the 14. Chapter of the Booke de spiritu & lit. before remembred*: and finally, to go no further, *Qu. in Exod. 1. 2. qu. 173. where he speaks most home, and to the purpose. Ex decem praeceptis hoc solum figuratum dictum est.* Of all the ten Commandements this onely was delivered as a signe or figure. See also what is said before out of *Theodoret*, and *Sedulius*, *Chap. 1. n. 6.* *Hesychius* goes yet further, and will not have the fourth Commandement to be any

Contra Iudeos.

In Epistola ad
Galat.De spiritu &
lib. 6. 114

In Levit. l. 6.
c. 26.

any of the ten; *Et si decem mandatis in certam sit, non tamen ex sis esse*; and howsoever it is placed amongst them, yet it is not of them. And therefore to make up the number, divides the first Commandement in two, as those of *Rome* have done the last, to exclude the second. But here *Hesychius* was deceived, in taking this Commandement to be onely ceremoniall, whereas it is indeed of a mixt or middle nature: for so the Schoolemen, and other learned Authors in the later times, grounding themselves upon the Fathers, have resolued it generally. *Morall* it is as to the *dutie*, that there must be a time appointed for the service of God: and *Ceremoniall*, as unto the *Day*, to be one of *seven*, and to continue that whole day, and to surcease that day from all kinde of worke. As *morall*, placed amongst the ten Commandements, extending unto all mankind, and written *naturally* in our hearts by the hand of *nature*: as *ceremoniall*, appertaining to the *Law Leviticall*, peculiar onely to the *Jewes*, and to be reckoned with the rest of *Moses* institutes. *Aquinac* thus, 2.22. qn. 122. art. 4. *resp. ad primum*. *Tostatus* thus in *Exod.* 20. qu. 11. So *Petr. Galatinus* also lib. 11. cap. 9. and *Bonaventure* in his Sermon on the fourth Commandement. And so divers others.

(4.) I say, the fourth Commandement, so farre as it is *ceremoniall*, in limiting the *Sabbath day* to be one of *seven*, and to continue all that day, and thereon to surcease from all kind of labour: which three ingredients are required in the *Law*, unto the making of a *Sabbath*: is to be reckoned with the rest of *Moses* institutes, and proper onely to the *Jewes*. For prooфе of this, wee have the Fathers very copious. And first that it was one of *Moses* institutes, *Insti* the *Martyr* saith expressly. *Ως αὐτὸν ἀργαλοῦ ἡμέτερον*, *καὶ αὐτὸν Μωϋσέαν κατέτον*, &c. As Circumcision began from *Abraham*, and as the *Sabbath*, *Sacrifices*, *Feasts* and *Offerings*, came in by *Moses*: so were they all to have an end. And in another place of the same Discourse, seeing there was no use of

Dialectum Try-
pse.

Circumcision untill *Abrahams* time, *εἰδέντες οὐκετίουν*, nor of the *Sabbath* untill *Moses*: by the same reason there is as little use now of them, as had been before. So doth *Eusebius* tell us, *επάστον μὲν Ἰσραήλ ἀπογένεται τοιούτοις Μαρτίοις, οὐδέτε τίδε παραδίδεται οὐδέτε*, &c. that

“ *Moses* was the first Law-giver amongst the *Jewes*, “ who did appoint them to observe a *certaine Sabbath* in “ memory of Gods rest from the Worlds Creation, as “ also divers anniversary Festivals, together with the dif- “ ference of clean and unclean creatures, and of other “ Ceremonies not a few. Next *Athanasius* lets us know that in the Book of *Exodus*, wee have the institution of the *Passeover*, the sweetning of the bitter waters of *Mara*, the sending down of *Quailes* and *Mannah*, the wa-
ters issuing from the rocke: *ὅτε γὰρ ἀρχήν εἰχεν οὐδὲ οὐδέποτε μετανοεῖς*, what time the *Sabbath* took beginning, and the *Law* was published by *Moses* on Mount *Sinai*.

Macarius a Contemporary of *Athanasius* doth affirme as much, *viz.* that in the *Law* *δια Μωϋσέως σορθεῖ*, which was given by *Moses*, it was commanded, as in a figure or a shadow that every man should rest on the *Sabbath day* from the workes of labour. Saint *Hierome* also lets us know, though he name not *Moses*, that the observation of the *Sabbath*, amongst other Ordinances, was given by God unto his people in the *Wildernes*. *Hec praecepta, & justificaciones, & observantiam sabbati, Dominus dedit in deserto*; which is as much, as if he had expressly told us, that it was given unto them by the hand of *Moses*. Then *Epiphanius*, God saith he, rested on the seventh day from all his labours; which day hee blessed and sanctified, *καὶ ἐδικοεῖ διὰ γῆς τὸ Μωϋσῆν*, and by his *Angel* made knowne the same to his servant *Moses*. See more unto this purpose *aduers. baref. l. 1. her. 6. n. 5.* And lastly, *Da-*
mascen hath assured us, that when there was no *Law* nor *Scripture*, that then there was no *Sabbath* neither: but when the *Law* was given by *Moses*, *ἀπεργῶν τὸ θερόν τὸ κατετον*, then was the *Sabbath* set apart for Gods pub-

Synopsis Sacra
Scripta.

Hom. 35.

In Ezech. 20.

De Pond. &
mensur. n. 22.De fide Orthodoxa.
lib. 4. c. 34.De Preparatione.
7.6.6.

lick worship. Adde here, that *Fabritius* and *Austin* referte the institution of the Sabbath unto *Moses* onely: of which more hereafter.

(5) Next that the Sabbath was peculiar onely to the *Jewes*, or those, at least that were of the house of *Israell*, the Fathers do affirme more fully, then they did the other. For so *Saint Basil*, *τὸν οὐρανὸν τοῦ Ισαὰ*, the Sabbath was given unto the *Jewes*, in his first Homily of Fasting. *Saint Austin* *Io. Sabbathum datum est priori populo in otio corporali*, *Epistola 119.* & *Sabbatum Iudeis fuisse praeceptum in umbra futuri*, *de Gen. ad lit. 1. 4.c. 11.* and in the 13. of the same Booke, *ut non diebus observandum mandavit populo Hebraeo: the like to which occurs Epist. 86. ad Casulanum.* The *Jewes*, the *Hebreves*, and the former people; all these three are one: and all doe serve to shew that *Saint Austin* thought the Sabbath to be peculiar unto them onely. That it was given unto the *Jewes*, exclusively of all other Nations, is the opinion and conceit also of the *Jewes* themselves. This *Petrus Galatinus* proves against them, on the authority of their best Authors. *Sic enim legitur apud eos in Glossa, &c.* Wee reade, saith he, in their *Glossa* on these words of *Exodus*, *The Lord hath given you the Sabbath: what meane, say they, these words, he hath given it you? Quia vobis viz. Iudeis dedit, & non gentibus secundum; because it was given unto the Jewes, and not unto the Gentiles.* It is affirmed also, saith hee, by *R. Iohannan*, that whatsoever statute God gave to *Israell*, he gave it to them publickly, except the Sabbath; and that was given to them in secret: according unto that of *Exodus*. It is a signe betweene mee and the children of *Israell*. *Quod si ita est, non obligantur gentes ad sabbatum.* If so saith *Galatinus*, the Gentiles were not bound to obserue the Sabbath. A signe betweene mee and the children of *Israell*? It seemes, the *Jewes* were all of the same opinion. For where they used on other dayes to weare their *Phylacteries* on their armes or foreheads, to be a signe or token to them, as the Lord commanded;

cb. 16.29.

Exod. 31.17.

Airsworth in
Exod. 13.9.

manded; they laid them by upon the Sabbath: because, say they, the Sabbath was it selfe a signe. So truly said *Procopius Gazensis*, *in Iudeis imperavit supremum numen, ut segregarent a ceteris diebus diem optimum, &c.* God, saith he, did command the *Jewes*, to set apart the seventh day to his holy worship; that if by chance they should forget the Lord their God, that day might call him back unto their remembrances, where note, it was commanded to the *Jewes* alone. Adde, that *Josephus* calls the Sabbath in many places, a nationall or locall custome, *τὸν μάρτιον νόμον*, a law peculiar to that people; as *Antiqu. 1. 14.c. 1. 8.* & *de bello 1. 2.c. 1. 6.* as wee shall see hereafter more at large. Lastly, so given to the *Jewes* alone, that it became a difference between them, and all other people. *Saint Cyriath* hath resolved it so. God, saith hee, gave the *Jewes* a Sabbath, not that the keeping of the same should be sufficient to conduct them to eternall life: *sed ut hac civilis administrationis ratio peculiaris a gentium institutis distinguat eos*; but that so different a forme of civill government, should put a difference between them, and all Nations else. *Theodoret* more fully, that the *Jewes* being in other things like to other people, in observatione sabbati propriam videbantur obtinere rem publicam, seemed in keeping of the sabbath to have a custome by themselves. And which is more, saith he, their Sabbath put a greater difference between the *Jewes*, and other people; then their *Circumcision*: For *Circumcision* had been used by the *Iudaeans*, and *Egyptians*: *sabbati vero observationem sola Iudaorum natio custodiebat*, but the observation of the sabbath, was peculiar onely to the *Jewes*. Nay, even the very *Gentiles* took it for a *Jewish Ceremony*; sufficient prooфе whereof wee shall see ere long. But what need more be said in this, either that this was one of the *Laws of Moses*, or that it was peculiar to the *Jewes* alone; seeing the same is testified by the holy Scripture? *Thou cameſt downe upon mount Sinai, saith Nehemiah, and shakeſt with them [the house of Israell]* *Cap. 19.13. ex* *from*

from Heaven: and gauest them right judgements and true lawes, good statutes and commandments, what more? It followeth, And madest knowne unto them thy holy Sabaths, and commandest them precepts, statutes and lawes, by the hand of thy servant Moses.

(6) Now on what motives God was pleased to prescribe a sabbath to the Jewes, more at this time then any of the former ages; the Fathers severally have told us; yea and the Scriptures too in severall places. *Justin Martyr*, as before we noted, gives this generall reason, because of their hard-heartednesse, and irregular courses; wherein Saint Austin closeth with him. *Cessarunt onera legis que ad duritatem cordis Iudaici fuerunt data, in escis, sabbatis, & neomeniis*: where note how he hath joyned together, new-moones, and sabbaths, and the Jewish difference betwene meat and meat. Particularly, *Gregory Nyssen* makes the speciall motive to be this, *ad sedandum nimium eorum pecunia studium*, so to restraine the people from

the love of money. For comming out of Egypt very poore and bare, and having almost nothing but what they borrowed of the Egyptians; they gave themselves, saith he, unto continual and incessant labour, the sooner to attain to riches. Therefore said God, that they should labour six dayes, and rest the seventh. *Damasen* somewhat to this purpose, εἰδὼς ὁ θεός τὸ παρόντα φιλόταπλον, &c. God, saith he, seeing the carnall and the covetous disposition of the Israelites, appo nted them to keepe a sabbath, that so their servants and their cattell might partake of rest. And then he addes, εἴα δέ τοι ὁ χρήστης ἀπότομος, &c. as also, that thus resting from their worldly busynesses, they might repaire unto the Lord in *Psalmes*, and *Hymnes* and spirituall songs, and meditation of the Scriptures. *Rupertus* harps on the same string that the others did, save that hee thinks the sabbath given for no other cause, then that the labouring man being wearied with his weekly toyle, might have some time to refresh his spirits. *Sabbatum nichil aliud est nisi requies*,

vel

Qu. ex Nov.
Test. 69.Testim. aduersus
Dei in carne.Deinde Orib 1.4
8.24.

2.5. in lob. 6.5.

De reuress
Chr. Oratio.

vel quam ob eansmodi data est, nisi ut operariis fessis ceteris septimana diebus uno die regnisceret? *Gaudentius Brixianus* in his twelfth Homily or sermon, is of the same minde also, that the others were. These seeme to ground themselves on the fift of *Deuteronomy*, where God commands his people to observe his sabbaths, that thy man-servant, and thy maid-servant may rest as well as thou. And then it followeth, Remember that thou wast a servant in the land of Egypt, and that the Lord thy God brought thee out thence, though with a mighty hand & in out-stretched arme: therefore the Lord thy God commanded thee to keep the sabbath day. The force of which illation is no more then this, that as God brought them out of Egypt wherein they were servants, so he commands them to take pity on their servants, and let them rest upon the sabbath: considering that they themselves would willingly have had some time of rest, had they been permitted. A second motive might be this, to make them alwayes mindfull of that spirituall rest, which they were to keepe from the acts of sinne; and that eternall rest that they did expect from all toyle and misery. In reference unto this eternall rest, *Saint Augustine* tells us that the Sabbath was commanded to the Jewes, in *umbra futuri*, que spiritalem requiem figuraret; as a shadow of the things to come, in *S. Pauls* language, which God doth promise unto those that doe the works of righteousness. And in relation to the other, the Lord himselfe hath told us, that he had given his Sabbath unto the Jewes, to be a signe between him and them, that they might know, that he was the Lord that sanctified them. *Exod. 31.13.* which is again repeated by *Ezech. cap. 20.12.* That they may know that I am the Lord which sanctifieth them. For God, as *Gregory Nyssen* notes it, leemes onely to propose this unto himself, that by all meanes he might at least destroy in man, his inbred corruption. τὸν εἰς τετομῆνος, τὸν εἰς τὸν καλλεῖσθαι. This was his ayme in *Circumcision*, and in the Sabbath, and in forbidding them some kinde of meates:

nisi

Vers. 14.

De Gen. adlitt.
4.6.11.

" *ad cuncta officia quae in die sabbati facere debet* " no, for by the Sabbath he informed them of a rest from *fune*. To cite more Fathers to this purpose were a thing unnecessary, & and indeed *superfluo super sensum*. This yet *confirms us further*, that the Sabbath was intended for the *Levites* alone. For had God given the Sabbath to all other people, as he did to them, it must have also been signe, that the Lord had *sanctified* all people, as he did the *Levites*.

(7) There is another motive yet to be considered, and that concerneas well the day, as the institution. God might have given the *Jewes* a Sabbath, and yet not tied the Sabbath to one day of seven, or to the seventh precisely from the Worlds Creation. *Constitutus potuisse, quid in die sabbati soleretur Deus, aut in die Martis, aut in altera die.* God, saith *Zephania*, might have ordered it, to have his Sabbath on the Saturday, or on the Tuesday, or any other day what ever. What any other of the weeks, and no more then so; No, hee might have appointed it, *aut his, aut semel tantum in anno, aut in mense, once or twice a yere, or every moneth*; as hee had listed. And might not God as well exceed this number, as fall short thereof? yes say the *Protestant Doctors*, that hee might have done. He might have made each *abrid*, or *fourth*, or *fifth* day a Sabbath; indeed as many as he pleased. *Sicut possit Deus absalutem in die sabbatis, potuisse plures dies impetrare cultum sua impendendo*: so saith Doctor Rymer, one of the Professors of *Leiden*, and a great Friend to the antiquity of the Sabbath. What was the principall motive then, why the seventh day was chosen for this purpose, and none but that? *in quibus dies duxerit deus, to keep God always in their minde*: so saith *Justin Marry*: But why should that bee rather done by a seventh day Sabbath, then by any other? Saint *Cyrill* answeres to that point exceeding fully. The *Jewes*, saith hee, became infected with the Idolatries of *Egypt*, worshipped the *fune, and Nisus, and Spates, and the host of Hea-*

*In Exod. 20.
qu. 11.*

In Exod. 20.

*Dial. cum Try.
phone.*

*De fest. Paschal.
bom. 6.*

" *ven*:

ven: which seemes to be insinuated in the fourth of *Deut. ver. 19*. Therefore that they might understand the Heavens to be Gods workmanship, *nos opificem suum imitari juber*, he willeth them that they imitate their Creatour; that resting on the Sabbath day, they might the better understand the reason of the *Festivall*. Which if they did, saith hee, because they rested on that day, whereon God had rested, it was a plaine confession that all things were made by him; and consequently that there were no other Gods besides him. *Et hac una ratio sabbato indicat quietis*; Indeed the one and onely reason that is mentioned in the body of the Commandement; which reflects onely on Gods rest from all his worke which he had made, and leaves that as the absolute and sole occasion, why the seventh day was rather chosen, for the Sabbath, then the sixt, or eighth, or any other. Which being so, it is the more to be admiced, that *Philo* being a learned *Jew*, or any learned Christian Writer, leaving the cause expressed in the Law it selfe, should seeke some secret reason for it, out of the nature of the day, or of the number. First, *Philo* tells us, that the *Jewes* doe call their seventh day by the name of *sabbath*, which signifieth repose and rest. Not because they did rest that day from their weekly labours: *επειδη δειριος εστι της αστασης, η ανατηρος, η ελενσιωτας*, but because *seven* is found to be, both in the world and man himselfe, the most quiet number, most free from trouble, warre, and all manner of contention. A strange conceit to take beginning from a *Jew*: yet that that followes of *Aretius* is as strange as this. Who thinks that day was therefore consecrated unto rest, even amongst the *Gentiles*, *quod putarent civitibus actionibus incepsum esse, fortasse propter frigus planetae, contemplationibus vero idoneum*: because they thought that day, by reason of the dulnesse of the *Planet Saturne*, more fit for contemplation, then it was for action. Some had, it seemes, conceived so, in the former times, whom thereupon *Testatus* censures in his *Com-*

De Abrahamo.

problem. 6c. 55.

Comment on the fifth of *Deuteronomy*. For where it was Gods purpose, as before we noted out of *Cyril*, to weare the people from Idolatry and Superstition: to lay down such a reason for the observation of the *sabbath*, was to reduce them to the worship of those Starres and Planets, from which he did intend to weare them. I had almost omitted the conceit of *Zanobie*, before remembred; who thinks that God made choice of this day the rather; because that on the same day, he had brought his people out of *Egypt*. In case the ground be true, that on this day the Lord wrought this deliverance for his people *Israel*, then his conceit may probably be countenanced from the fifth of *Deuteronomy*, where God recounting to his people, that with a mighty hand and an out-stretched arme he had delivered them from *Egypt*; hath thereupon commanded them that they should keepe the *sabbath* day. Lay all that hath been laid together, and it will come in all to this, that as the *sabbath* was not known till *Moses* time; so being knowne, it was peculiar unto *Israel* onely. *Non nisi Mosaicae legis temporibus in usu fuisse septimi diei cultum; nec postea nisi penes Hebraeos perdurasse*, as *Torniellus* doth conclude it.

(8) For that the *Gentiles* used to keepe the *seventh* day lacerd, as some give it out, is no where to be found, I dare boldly say it, in all the Writings of the *Gentiles*. The *seventh* day of the *moneth* indeed they hallowed, and so they did the *first*, and *fourth*; as *Hesiod* tells us. *Πέμπτη* ἐνν, τερτιάς τε καὶ ἕξδυτην ισεγγίημεν. Not the *first* day, and the *fourth*, and *seventh* of every *weeke*, for then they must have gone beyond the *Jewes*: but as the *Scholiast* upon *Hesiod* notes it, *ἀνοιλινοί exorsus landat tres*, the *first*, *fourth*, and *seventh*. And lest it should be thought that the *seventh* day is to be counted holier then the other two, because the attribute of *ιερήνημεν* leetnes joyned unto it: the *Scholiast* takes away that scruple, *ἀνοιλινοί exorsus tres landat, omnes sacras dicens, septimam etiam ut Apollonis natalem celebrans*; and tells us that all three are

are accounted holy, and that the *seventh* was also celebrated as *Apollo's birth-day*. For so it followeth in the Poet, *τὸν δὲ Ἀπόλλωνα χειρόεξ γείνατο Λητώ*: from whence the *Flamines* or *Gentile Priests* did use to call him *εἰσθυτὴν*, i. e. the God born on the *seventh* day. For further proofe hereof, we finde in *Alexander ab Alexandro*, that the *first* day of every *moneth* was consecrated to *Apollo*, the *fourth* to *Mercurie*, the *seventh* againe unto *Apollo*, the *eighth* to *Thesēus*. The like doth *Plutarch* say of *Thesēus*, that the *Athenians* offered to him their greatest *Sacrifice*, upon the *eighth* day of *October*, because of his arriuall that day from *Crete*: and that they also honoured him, *εἰς τὰς ἀναστάσιας οὐρανούς*, on the *eighth* day of the other *moneths*, because he was derived from *Neptune*; to whom, on the *eighth* day of every *month*, they did offer sacrifice. To make the matter yet more sure, *Philo* hath put this difference between the *Gentiles*, and the *Jewes*, that diverse *Cities* of the *Gentiles* did solemnize the *seventh* day, *ἀνατολή τοῦ μηνὸς* once a *moneth*, beginning their account with the *New-moone*: *τὸ δὲ Ἰεραῖνον εἴδος οὐρανούς*, but that the *Jewes* did keep every *seventh* day constantly. Its true that *Philo* tells us more then once or twice, how that the *sabbath* was become a *generall Festivall*: but that was rather taken up in imitation of the *Jewes*, then practised out of any instinct or light of nature, as wee shall see hereafter in a place more proper. Besides which dayes before remembred, the *second* day was consecrate to the *bonus Genius*; the *third* and *fifteenth* to *Mnerva*; the *ninth* unto the *Sunne*; the *last* to *Pluto*; and every *twentieth* day kept holy by the *Epicures*. Now as the *Greeks* did consecrate the *New-moones* and *seventh* day to *Phœbus*, the *fourth* of every *moneth* to *Mercury*, and the *eighth* to *Neptune*, *& sic de ceteris*: so every *ninth* day in the *yeare*, was by the *Romans* anciently kept sacred unto *Jupiter*; the *Flamines* or *Priests* upon that day, offering a *Ramme* unto him for a *Sacrifice*. *Nundinas Iovis ferias esse*, as *Granius Licinius*: *signidem Flaminica omnibus nundinis* [every] *Saturnaliis*. *c. 16.*

Dies Geniales
1.3.6.18.

De Decalogo.

Hofpin. de orig.
Fest. cap. 5.

ry ninth day] in regia Iovi aricem solore in molare: aii Macrobius. So that we see the seventh day was no more in honour, then either the first, fourth, or eighth; and not so much as was the ninth: this being as it were a weekly Festivall, and that a monethly. A thing so cleare and evident that Doctour Bonn could tell us, that the memory of Weeks and Sabbaths was altogether suppressed and buried amongst the Gentiles. And in the former page. But how the memory of the seventh day was taken away: amongst the Romans, Ex veteri mundinarum institu: apparet, saith Beroaldus. And Satan did altogether take away from the Grecians, the holy memory of the seventh day, by obtruding on the wicked rites of Superstition, which on the eighth day they did keep in honor of Neptune. So that besides other holy dayes, the one of them observed the eighth day, and the other the ninth, and neither of them both the seventh as the Church doth now, and hath done alwayes from the beginning. Its true, Diogenes the Grammarien, did hold his disputations constantly upon the Saturday or Sabbath: and when Tiberius at an extraordinary time came to heare his exercises; in diei septimum distulerat, the Pedant put him off until the Saturday next following. A right Diogenes indeed, and as rightly lerv'd. For coming to attend upon Tiberius, being then made Emperour, he seat his word, ut post annos septimum rediret, that he would haye him come again the seventh year after. But then as true it is, which the same Suetonius tells us of Antonius Grispo, a Grammarien too, that he taught Rhizorick every day; declamaret vero non nisi mundinus, but declaimed onely on the ninth. But then as true it is, which Iuvani hath told us of the Roman Rhetoricians, that they pronounced their Declamations on the sixth day chiefly.

*Nil salit Arcadicu juveni, cuius mibi sexta
Quaque die, uniformis dirus caput Appibal impli.
As the Poet hath it.*

2 Edi. p. 63.

Suetor. in Tiber.
6.32.De illustrib.
Grammaticis

See.

All dayes, it seemes, alike to them; the first, fourth, sixth, eighth, ninth, and indeed what not, as much in honour as the seventh: whether it were in cirill, or in sacred matters.

(9) I am not ignorant that many goodly Epithetes are by some ancient Poets amongst the Grecians appropriated to this day: which we find gathered up together, by Clemens Alexandrinus, and Eusebius; but before either of them, by one Aristobulus a learned Jew, who lived about the time of Ptolemy Philometer King of Egypt. Both Hesiod and Homer, as they there are cited, give it the title of ιερὸν ἥμαρ or an holy day, & so it was esteemed amongst them, as before is shewn: but other dayes esteemed as holy. From Homer they produce two Veries, wherein the Poet seemes to be acquainted with the Worlds Creation, and the perfection of it on the seventh day.

Ἐκδιπον ἥμαρ ἦν, καὶ πλείστοις ἀνύπα. τοι
Ἐκδιπάτη δὲ οἱ πινερεὶς πόνος ἦτορ Ἀχέροντος.

On the seventh day all things were fully done.
On that we left the waves of Acheron.

The like are cited out of Linus, as related by Eusebius, from the collections of Aristobulus before remembred: but are by Clemens gather'd on Callimachus, another of the old Greek Poets, who between them thus.

Ἐκδιπάτη δὲ οἱ τεταρτήρια πάρα πέπονται. τοι
Ἐκδιπάτης εὐ παραδοῖς, καὶ εἰ Κλίμης εἰς γενέθλιον.
Ἐκδιπάτης εὐ πράτοστι, καὶ εἴδημεν εἰς τελεῖον τοι
Ἐκδιπάτης εὐ πράτοστι, καὶ εἴδημεν εἰς τελεῖον τοι
Ἐπικαλοῦσις παρτις ἐπιτελούμενος εὐ παραδοῖς τοι
Ἐκδιπάτης δὲ εἴναι, καὶ οἱ ἐπιτελοῦτοι ἀνύπα.

Which put together may be thus Englished, in the main, though not verbatim.

Clem. Strom. 1.5.
Euseb. Preparat.
13. c. 12.

On the seventh day all things were made complete. The birth-day of the World, most good, most great. Seven brought forth all things in the starrie Skie; Keeping each yeere their courses constantly.

Ap. Euseb.

Strom. I.5.

This *Clemens*, makes an argument that not the *Jews* onely but the *Gentiles* also knew that the seventh day had a priviledge, yea, and was hallowed above other dyes; on which the world, and all things in it were complete and finished. And so we grant they did: but neither by the light of nature, nor any observation of that day amongst themselves, more then any other. Not by the light of nature. For *Aristobulus*, from whom *Clemens* probably might take his hint, speaks plainly, that the Poets had consulted with the holy Bible, and from thence sucked this knowledge: *εκ των ιημερων Βιγλιων μετανοησε*, as that Author saith of *Hesiod* and *Homer*. Which well might be, considering that *Homer* who was the oldest of them flourished about five hundred yeares after *Moses* death; *Callimachus* who was the latest, above seven hundred yeares after *Homers* time. Nor did they speake it out of any observation of that day, more then any other amongst themselves. The generall practice of the *Gentiles*, before related, hath throughly as we hope, removed that scruple. They that from these words can collect a Sabbath, had need of as good eyes as *Clemens*, who out of *Plato* in his second *de republ.* conceives that he hath found a sufficient warrant for the oberving of the *Lords* day, above all the rest: because it is there said by *Plato*, that such as had for seven dayes solaced in the pleasant Meadowes, were to depart upon the eighth, and not returne till fourre dayes after. As much a *Lords* day in the one, as any Sabbath in the other. Indeed the argument is weak, that some of those that thought it of especiall weight, have now deserted it, as too light and triviall. *Ryver* by name, who cites most of these Verses in his notes on *Genesis*, to prove the Sabbath no lesse ancient then the worlds Creation;

tion; doth on the *Decalogue*, thinke them utterly unable to conclude that point, *nisi aliunde suffulciantur*, unlesse they be well backed with better arguments, and authorities out of other Authours.

(10) Nay, more then this, the *Gentiles* were so farre from sanctifying the Sabbath or seventh day, themselues; that they derided those that kept it. The *Circumcision* of the *Jews* was not more ridiculous amongst the *Heathens*, then their *Sabbaths* were; nor were they more extremely scoffed at for the one, then for the other, by all sorts of Writers. *Seneca* layes it to their charge, that by occasion of their *Sabbaths*, *septimam fere etatis sue partem*, *vacando perdant*, they spent the seventh part of their their lives in sloth and idlenesse: and *Tacitus*, that not the seventh day, but the seventh yeaer also, was as unprofitably wasted. *Septimo quoque die otium placuisse ferunt*; *dein blandiente inertia*, *septimum quoque annum ignaviae datum*. *Moses*, saith he, had so appointed, because that after a long sixe dayes march, the people became quietly settled on the seventh. *Iuvenal* makes also the same objection, against the keeping of the Sabbath by the *Jewish* Nation.

Ap. Aug. de civit. Dei, l.6. c. 11.

Hist. I.3.

Sat. 14.

— *quod septima queque fuit lux
ignava, & pars eius vita non attigit ullam.*

And *Ouid* doth not onely call them *peregrina sabbata*, as things with which the *Romans* had but small, and that late acquaintance: but makes them a peculiar marke of the *Jewish Religion*.

Reme. amor. l.2.

*Quaque dicerent, rebus minus apta gerendis,
Culta Palestino septima sacra viro.*

De Art. I.3.

The seventh day comes for busynesse unfit;
Held sacred by the *Jew*, who halloweth it.

Where by the way *Tostatus* notes upon these words, that *sacra septim* are here ascribed unto the *Jewes*, as their badge or cognizance; which had been most improper, & indeed untrue, *si gentes alie servarent sabbatum*, if any other Nation, specially the *Romans*, had observed the same. But to proceed, *Persius* hits them in the teeth with their *recurrerat sabbata*: and *Martial* scornfully calleth them *Sabbatarians*, in an Epigram of his to *Bassus*, where reckoning up some things of an unsavoury smell, he reckoneth *Sabbatariorum jejunia*, amongst the principall. So *Aga- charides* who wrote the lives of *Alexanders* successors accuseth them of an unspeakable superstition; in that *καὶ οὐδεὶς οὐδεποτε πάσην τοῦ θεοῦ σταυροῦ*, they suffered *Ptolomie* to take their City of *Hierusalem*, on a *sabbath day*, rather then stand upon their guard. But that of *Apion*, the great Clerke of *Alexandria*, is the most shamefull and reproachfull of all the rest: Who, to despight the *Jewes* the more, and lay the deeper stain upon their *Sabbaths*; relates in his *Egyptian* story, that at their going out of *Egypt*, having travelled for the space of six whole dayes, they became stricken with certain inflammations in the privie parts, which the *Egyptians* call by the name of *Sabbo*: *καὶ ταῦτα τὰς τὴν ἑβδομήνην ἡμέραν ἀνεπιτέλλοντα*, and for that cause they were compelled to rest on the seventh day, which afterwards they called the *Sabbath*. Then which, what greater calumny could a malicious Sycophant invent against them? Doubtless, those men that speake so detipically and reprehensibly of the *Jewish sabbath*, had never any of their own: Nor did the *Greeks* and *Latines*, and *Egyptians* only out of the plenty, or the redundāce rather of their wit, deride & scoffe the *Sabbaths* celebrated by those of *Iewry*: it was a sober man that had before been taekēd on them, when wit was not so plentiful, as in *Jeremias*. For so the Prophet *Jeremiah* in his *Lamentations*, made on the death of King *Iosiah*, *αὐτὸν ἀδειανόδει σκέψατο, καὶ διέκοπεν τὰς σαββάτους*. The *Jewes* must needs be singular in this observation. All nations else, both *Grecian* and *Barbarian*, had never

never so agreed together, to deride them for it.

(11) Yet we deny not all this while, but that the fourth Comandement, so much therof as is agreeable to the *law* and light of *nature*, was not alone imprinted in the minds of the *Gentiles*, but practised by them. For they had *statos dies*, some appointed times, appropriated to the worship of their severall gods, as before was shewed: their *holydayes*, & *half-holydayes*, according to that estimatiō which their gods had gotten in the *World*. And this as well to comfort and refresh their spirits, which otherwise had bin spent & wasted with continuall labour; as to do service to those Deities which they chiefly honoured. *Dii genus hominum laboribus natura pressum miserati, remissionem laborum statuerunt solennia festa*; was the resolution once of *Plato*. But this concludes not any thing that they kept the *sabbath*, or that they were obliged to keep it, by the *law of nature*. And where it is concived by some, that the *Gentiles* by the light of *nature* had their *wakes*, which is supposed to be an argument that they kept the *sabbath*, a week being onely of *seven dayes*, and commonly so called both in *Greeke*, and *Latine*: we on the other side affirme, that by this very rule, the *Gentiles*, many of them, if not the most, could observe no *sabbath*; because they did observe no *wakes*. For first the *Chaldees*, and the *Persians* had no *wakes* at all: but to the severall dayes of each severall moneth, appropriated a particular name of some King or other: as the *Peruvianus* doe at this present time, *& nomina dictis mensis induunt, ut prisca Persa*, as *Scaliger* hath noted of them. The *Grecians* also did the like in the times of old: there being an old *Attick Calendar* to be seen in *Scaliger*, wherein is no division of the *moneth* into *wakes* at all. Then for the *Romans*, they divided their account into *eighths* & *eighths*; as the *Jewes* did by *sevens* and *sevens*: the one reflecting on their *nundinas*, as the other did upon their *sabbath*. *Ogdoas Romanorum in tributione dierum servabatur propter nundinas, ut hebdomas apud Iudeos propter sabbatum*. For proofe of which there

Deleg. t. 3:

Purch. Pilgr. l. 1.
c. 4.

Emend. temp. l. 3.

3d. l. 4.

Id. 1. Edit. 2.

In Levit. 23.
qu. 3.

Hist. 1. 36.

Natural. 7.

are some ancient Roman Calendars to be seen as yet, one in the aforesaid Scaliger; the other in the Roman Antiquities of John Rossinus: wherin the dayes are noted from *A* to *H*, as in our common Almanacks from *A* to *G*. The Mexicans go a little further, and they have 13. dayes to the week, as the same Scaliger hath observed of them. Nay even the Jewes themselves were ignorant of this division of the yeere into weeks, as *Tostatus* thinks, till *Moses* learnt it of the Lord, in the fall of *Mannah*. Nor were the Greeks & Romans destitute of this accompt, onely whiles they were rude and untrained people, as the Peruvians and the Mexicans at this present time; but when they were in their greatest flourish for Arts and Empire. *Dion* affirms it for the ancient Grecians, that they knew it not; *οὐδὲ ἀρχεῖος ἔννοιαν οὐδεὶς αὐτῷ ἀντίστησε*, for ought hee could learne: and *Seneca* more punctually, that first they learnt the motions of the Planets, of *Eudoxus*, who brought that knowledge out of *Egypt*; and consequently could not know the weeke before. And for the Romans, though they were well enough acquainted with the Planets in their latter times; yet they divided not their Calendar into weeks, as now they doe, till neere about the time of *Dionysius Exiguus*, who lived about the yeere of Christ, 520: Nor had they then received it in all probability, had they not long before admitted Christianity throughout their Empire; and therewithall the knowledge of the holy Scriptures, where the accompt by weeks was exceeding obvious. Therefore according to this rule, the *Chaldees*, *Perians*, *Grecs*, and *Romans*, all the four great Monarchies did observe no *Sabbaths*; because they did observe no weeks. Which said in this place once for all, wee resolute it thus: that as the *Israelites* kept no Sabbath before the *Law*, so neither did the *Gentiles* when the *Law* was given: which prooves it one of *Moses* Ordinances, no prescript of nature.

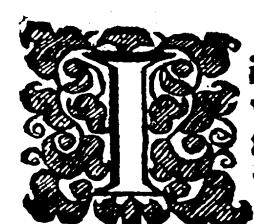


C H A P. V.

The Practice of the Jewes in such observances, as were annexed unto the SABBATH.

(1) Of some particular adjuncts affixed unto the Jewish Sabbath. (2) The Annuall Festivals called Sabbaths in the Booke of God, and reckoned as a part of the fourth Commandement. (3) The Annuall Sabbaths no lesse solemnly observed and celebrated, then the weekly were; if not more solemnly. (4) Of the Parasceue or Preparation to the Sabbath and the solemn Festivalls. (5) All manner of worke as well forbidden on the Annuall, as the weekly Sabbaths. (6) What things were lawfull to be done on the Sabbath dayes. (7) Touching the prohibitions of not kindling fire, and not dressing meat. (8) What moved the Gentiles generally to charge the Jewes, with Fasting on the Sabbath day. (9) Touching this Prohibition, Let no man goe out of his place on the Sabbath day. (10) All lawfull recreations, as Dancing, Feasting, Man-like Exercises, allowed and practised by the Jewes upon their Sabbaths.

(1)



Shewed you in the former Chapter, the institution of the Sabbath, by whom it was first published, and to whom prescribed. It now remaynes to see, how it was observed; how farre the people thought

Very Lightly Bound

sub.Exerc.
I.I.
sub.Temps.
i.

P.19.31.

CECILIA, N. 31.

PIR. 110, 1.3:

icular adjectives, whereby to know them from the rest: whereof the one was *casuarius*, and the other *casual*. The *casuarius* subject is that of *styrax*, *cerat*, *oxycerat*, or *sabiceum*, *secundum*, *grimum*, as the *Indians* renders it: mend-

300. is most apparent in the scriptures especially; 2. 23. where both the *Passover*, the *Feast of Trumpets*, the *Feast of Expiation*, and the *Feast of Tabernacles*, are severally entitled by the name of *Subbaths*. The Fathers

6

alle

thought themselves obliged by it, and in what cases they were pleased to dispense therewith. Which that we may the better doe, we will take notice first of the Law it selfe, what is contained in the same, what the Sabbath signifieth: and then of such particular observances, which by particular statutes were affixed by God to the fourth Commandement, either by way of Comment on it, or addition to it; and after were misconstrued by the Scribes and Pharisees to insnare the people. And first, not to say any thing in this place, of the *quid nominis*, or derivation of the word, which *Philo* and *Josephus*, and the *Seventy* doe often render by *ἀναποστολή*, *repose*, or *rest*: Sabbath is used in Scripture to signifie some selected time by God himselfe deputed unto rest and holiness. Most specially and *κατ' εξοχήν*, it pointes out unto us the *seventh day*, as that which was first honoured with the name of Sabbath, *Exod. 16.25.* and in the second place those other Festivals, which were by God prescribed to the house of Israel, and are called Sabbaths also, as the others were. Of these the one was *weakly*, and the others *annually*: the *New-moones* not being honoured with this title in the Bouke of God, though in heathen Authors. The *weakly Sabbath* was that day, precisely, whereon God rested from the workes that he had made, which he commanded to be kept for a day of rest unto the *fewes* that so they might the better meditate on the wondrous workes, that he had done every *seventh day* exactly, in a continual revolution, from time to time. Therefore saith *Damascē*, when we have reckoned to *seven daies*, *μετανοεῖτε*, *καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ἡμέρας τῆς ἀρχῆς*, our computation of the time runnes round, and begins anew. These as in generall, and *κατ' εξοχήν*, as before I said, they were called Sabbaths: so were there some of them that had particular adjuncts, whereby to know them from the rest: whereof the one was *canonic*, and the other *casual*. The *canonic adjunct* is that of *υπέρτατα αὐτοῖς*, or *σαββάτου δεύτερον γένοντα* as the *Liberator* renders it: men-

on whereof is made in Saint Lukes Gospel. Our English reads it, *on the second Sabbath after the first*. A place and passage that much exercised mens wits in the former times, and brought forth many strange conceits: untill at last, this, and the *Περιέργες sophismorum*, and *superfluvios manare fontes*, came to be reckoned in a Proverb as preposterous things. *Seneca* hath of late untied the knot, and resolved it thus, that all the Weeks or Sabbaths from *Pasch* to *Pentecost*, did take their name *απὸ τῶν σεβαστῶν*, from the second day of the *Feast of Passeover*; that being the *Epache*, or point of time, from which the fifty dayes were to be accompted by the *Law*: and that the first Weeke or Sabbath after the said second day, was called *σεβαστὸν*, the second, *σεβαστῆσσα*, the third, *σεβαστῆτον*, and so the rest. According to which reckoning, the second Sabbath after the first, as we translate it, must be the first Sabbath *απὸ τῶν σεβαστῶν*, from the second day of the *Passeover*. The *casual adjunct* is, that sometimes there was a Sabbath that was called *μεγάλατον*, *the great Sabbath*, or as it is in Saint Johns Gospel *μεγάλην εὐηγέρτειαν*, *magnus illa dies Sabati*, as the *Larin* hath it. And is so called not for its owne sake, for *Casanbon* hath rightly noted, *nunquam enim appellationem Sabbatho tributam reperiri propter ipsum*: but because then, as many other times it did, the *Passeover* did either fall, or else was celebrated on a Sabbath. Even as in other cases, and another times, when any of the greater and more solemne Festivals did fall upon the Sabbath day, they used to call it, *Sabbatum Sabatorum*, a Sabbath of Sabbaths. *εἰ δὲ μείνει τὸ κακά τούτον*, *σαββάτον αὐτοῖς*, as *Isidore Pelios* notes it.

(2) For that the *annually Festivals* were called Sabbaths too, is most apparant in the Scriptures especially; *Exod. 23.* where both the *Passeover*, the *Feast of Trumpets*, the *Feast of Expiation*, and the *Feast of Tabernacles*, are severally entituled by the name of Sabbath. The Fathers

Cap. 6. 1.

Casab. Exerc.
14. n. 1.
Emend. Temp.
lib. 6.

Cap. 19. 3. 1.

Exerc. 16. n. 3. 1.

Epist. 110. 1. 3.

Hominis Miser.

39c

L. I. Sat. 9.

Emend. Temp.
lib. 3.De Sabbath. &
Circumcis.In Num. 28.
vers. 23.

Exod. 14. 31.

Emend. Temp.
Præleg. Edit. 2.

also note the same, Σαββατον οντα συναδηπιαν καλεσι; saith Saint Chrysostome: and ουτονον μετονοματιζων καλεσι, saith Isidore, in the place before remembred. Even the New-moones, amongst the Gentiles had the same name also, as may appear by that of Horace, who calls them in his Satyres, *Tricetima Sabbathæ*, because they were continually celebrated every thirtieth day. The like they did by all the rest, if Joseph Scaliger note be true, as I think it is; who hath affirmed expressly, *Omnem festivitatem Indicam non solum Iudeos sed & Gentiles sabbatum vocare*. Nay, as the weekly Sabbaths, some of them had their proper adjuncts: so had the annuall. Saint Athanasius tells us of the Feast of *Expiation*, that it was οὐακτερον καλεσι, or the principall Sabbath: for so I take it is his meaning: which selfe same attribute is given by Origen, to the Feast of *Trumpets*. Clemens of Alexandria 6. Stromat. brings in a difference of those Festivalls, out of a supposed worke of Saint Peter the Apostle: wherein, besides the New-moons and *Passcover*, which are there so named, they are distributed into οὐακτερον, οπτιον, ιμπιανης, or the first Sabbath, the Feast κατ εξοχην called, and the Great day. Casaubon for his part protesteth, *ipso obscurum esse quid sit sabbatum primum*, that he was yet to seek what should the meaning be of that first Sabbath. But Scaliger conceives, and not improbably, that by this first Sabbath, or οπτιον, οὐακτερον, was meant the Feast of *Trumpets*, because it was *ad initium anni*, or the beginning of the civill yeere: the same which Origen calls *Sabbatum sabbatorum*, as before we noted. As for the Feast κατ εξοχην so named in Clemens, that hee conceytes to be the Feast of *Pentecost*; and the great day in last, he hath authority in the Scriptaries, who tell of the Great day of this very Feast, *Ioh. 7. 37*. Not that the Feast of *Tabernacles* was alone so called, but in a more especiall manner. For there were other dayes so named, besides the Sabbath, *Dies observantis*, saith Tertullian, & *sabbata*

ut opinor, & *caetas puras*, & *jejunia*, & *dies magnas*. Whete Sabbath & dies magnas are distinguished plainly. Indeed it stood with reason that these annuall Sabbaths, should have the honour also of particular adjuncts, as the weekly had: being all founded upon one & the same Commandement. Philo affirms it for the *Ierem.* τὸ δὲ μεγαλον τὸ μετεξεριθεντὸν, &c. The fourth Commandement, saith he, is of the Sabbath, and the Festivalls, of *Domus*, of *Sacrifices*, formes of purifying, and other parts of divine worship. Which is made good by Zanchie for the Christian Writers, who in his worke upon the Decalogue doth resolute it thus. *Sabbati nomine ad Iudeos quod constituebat Deus intellectus non solum sabbatum supremum dierum, sed sabbata etiam annorum, item omnia festa, qua per Moysen illis explicavit.* It was the morall part of the fourth Commandement, that some time should be set apart for Gods publicke service: and in the body of that Law it is determined of that time, that it should be one day in seven. Yet not exclusively, that there should be no other time appointed, either by God, or by his Church; then the seventh day onely. God therefore added other times, as to him seemed best, the list whereto wee may behold in the twenty third of *Leviticus*: and the Church too by Gods example, added also some, as namely the *Feast of Dedication*, and that of *Purim*.

(3) Now as the annuall Festivalls ordained by God, had the name of Sabbath, as the weekly had: so the observances in them were the same, or not much differernt, if in some things the weekly Sabbath seemed to have preheminence, the annuall Sabbaths went beyond the in some others also. For the continuance of these Feasts, the weekly Sabbath was to be obserued throughout their generations, for a perpetuall covenant; *Exod. 31. 16*. So for the *Passcover*, you shall obserue it throughout your generations, by an ordinance for ever. *Exod. 12. 14*. The like of *Pentecost*, is shall be obserued for ever throughout your generations; *Exodus. 23. 16*. So also for the *Feast of Expiation*, *Lev. 23. 31*. and for the *Feast of Tabernacles*,

De Decalog.

In Mandat. 42

les, *Lev. 23.4.5.* Where note, that by these words after, and throughout their generations, it is not to be understood that these Jewish Festivals were to be perpetual, for then they would oblige us now, as they did the *Ierites*, but that they were to last as long, as the Republick of the *Jewes* should stand; and the *Mosaicall Ordinances* were to be in force. *Per generationes vestras*, i.e. *quamlibet R. et p. Iudiciorum*, *constanter*, as *T. estatis* notes upon this twenty third of *Lewisticus*. For the solemnity of these Feasts, the presence of the high priest was as necessary in the one as in the other. The high priest, also (as *Isa. 48.10.*) *assembled* with the priests into the Temple, *and* *not*, and yet not always, *but only on the Sabbath*, and *New-moones*, *as is excepted* *in loco*, *in many other* *anniversaries*, *as* *in the* *Trumpets*, *and* *Tabernacles*, *which* *generally* *were to be observed* *according* *to the* *Customs* *of the Country*. And hitherto, wee finde no difference at all; but in the manner of the rest, thererapears a little, *betwixt* *the weekly Sabbath*, and some of the *annuall*. For of the *weekly Sabbath* it is said expressly, that *they shall do no manner of work*, as on the other side of the *P. easter*, the *Pentecost*, the *Feast of Trumpets*, and of *Tabernacles*, that *they shall do no servile work*: which being well examined will be found the same in sense, though not in sound. But then again for sense and sound, it is expressly said of the *Expiation*, that therein *they shall do no manner of work*, as was affirmed before of *the weekly Sabbath*. So that besides the *seventh day Sabbath*, there were *seven Sabbathes* in the yeare, in sixe of which, *viz.*, the *first* and *seventh* of *unleavened bread*, the *day of Pentecost*, the *Feast of Trumpets*, and the *first* and *eighth day* of the *Feast of Tabernacles*. They were to doe no servile work: and on the *Expiation day*, no work at all. So that in this respect, the *weekly Sabbath* & the *day of Expiation* were directly equall, according to the very letter. In other things, the *day of Expiation* seemes to have preponerence, *first*, that upon this day only, the *high*

high Priest, *omnibus pontificiis in levitate indutus*, attired in his *Pontificalis*, might goe into the *Sanctum sanctorum*, or the holiest of all, to make atonement for the people; whereof see *Ex. 30.10.* And secondly, in that the sacrifices for this day were more, and greater, then those appointed by the Lord for the *weekly Sabbath*: which last is also true of the other Festivals. For where the sacrifices appointed for the *weekly Sabbath*, consisted onely of two *Lambs*, over and above the *daily sacrifice*; with a *meat-offering* and a *drink-offering* therunto proportioned: on the *New-moones*, and all the *Annuaill Sabbathes* before remembred, the sacrifices were enlarged, nay, more then trebled, as is expressed in the 28. and 29. of the booke of *Numbers*: Nay, if it hapned any time, as some times it did, that any of these Festivals did fall upon the *weekly Sabbath*; or that two of them, as the *New-moones* and the *Feast of Trumpets*, fell upon the same: the service of the *weekly Sabbath* lessened not at all, the sacrifices destinate to the *Annuaill Sabbath*; but they were all performed in their severall turns. The Text it selfe affirms as much, in the two Chapters before specified: and for the practice of it, that so it was; it is apparent to be seen in the *Hebreu Calendars*: Onely the difference was this, as *Rabbi Maimony* informes us, that the addition of the *Sabbath* was first performed; and after, the addition of the *New-moone*, and then the addition of the *Good day*, or other *Festivall*. So that in case the *weekly Sabbath* had a priviledge above the *Annuaill*, in that the *Shew-bread* or the *loaves of proposition*, were onely set before the Lord on the *weekly Sabbathes*: the *annuaill Sabbathes*, seeme to have had amends, all of them in the multiplictie of their sacrifices; and three of them in the great solemnity and concourse of people: all *Israel* being bound to appeare before the Lord on those three great Festivals, the *P. easter*, the *Pentecost*, and the *Feast of Tabernacles*. As for the penalty inflicted on the breakers of these solemn *Festivals*, it is expressly said of the *weekly Sabbath*, that who-
ever

Ap. Answerib.
in Num. 18.

Soever doth any worke shalbe done to death; Exi-
dus 31.15. and in the Verse before, that whosoever doth
any worke therin, that soule shall be cutt off (or as the
Chaldee Paraphrase reads it, that man shall be destroyed)
from amongst his people. Which if it signifie the same, as
by the Chaldee Paraphrase it seemes to doe; it is no more,
then what is elsewhere said of the *Expiation*, for so saith
the Text. *And whatsoeuer soule is he that doth any worke*
in that same day, that soule will I destroy from amongst his
people. But if the phrase be different, as the Rabbins say,
the difference is no more, then this, that they that breake
the *weekly Sabbath*, are to be put to death by the *Civill*
Magistracie: and they that worke upon the *Feast of Ex-
piation*, shall be cutt off by *God*, by untimely deaths. As for
the other *Annually Sabbaths*, the Rabbins have deter-
“ ned thus, that whosoever doth in any of them, such
“ works as are not necessary for food, as if he build, or pull
“ downe, or weave, and the like, hee breaketh a Com-
“ mandement, and transgresseth against this prohibition,
“ *ye shall not doe any servile worke*; and if he doe, and
“ there be witnessnes and evident prooфе, hee is by lawe to
“ be beaten or scourged for it. So that we see, that whe-
ther we regard the institution, or continuance of these
several Sabbaths; or the solemnities of the same, either
in reference to the Priests, the Sacrifices, and concourse of
people; or finally the punishment inflicted on the bre-
akers of them; the difference is so little, it is scarce remark-
able: considering especially, that if the *weekly Sabbaths*
do gain in one point, they loose as often in another. For
the particulars we shall speake of them hereafter, as occa-
sion is.

(4.) As for the time, when they began their Sabbath, and when they ended them, they tooke beginning on the evening of the day before, and so continued till the evening of the *Feast it selfe*. The Scripture speaks it onely, as I remember of the *Expiation*; which is appointed by the Lord to be obserued on the *sixth day of the seventh moneth*;

Levit. 23.30.

Ap. Ainsworth,
in Levit. 23.7.

moneth, *Levit. 23.27.* yet so that it is ordered thus in the
31, *It shall be unto you a Sabbath of rest, and yee shall af-
flict your soules on the ninth day of the moneth, at even.* And
then it followeth, *From even to even shall yee celebrate*
your Sabbath. But in the practice of the *Jewes*, it was so
in all: either because they tooke those words for a gene-
rall precept; or else because they commonly did accompt
their day from even to even. For where the *Romans* and
Egyptians began the day at midnight; the *Chaldees* and
the *Persians* with the rising Sunne; and the *Umbri*, an
Italian people, reckoned theirs from noone to noone: the
Jewes and the *Athenians* took the beginning of their day,
ab occasu solis, from Sun-setting, as *Scaliger* and divers o-
thers have obserued. Yet sure I am, *Honorius Augusto-
dunensis*, who lived foure hundred yeares agoe and up-
wards, placeth the *Jewes* together with the *Persians* and
Chaldeans, as men that doe begin their day at the Sun-
rising. However, in this case it is not to be thought that
the even was any part of the *Sabbath* following. (for the
additionall sacrifices were offered onely on the morning
and the evening of the severall Sabbaths) but a *magistracion*
or preparation thereunto: which preparation if it were
before the *weekly Sabbath*, it was called *vegallator*: if
before any of the *Annually*, it was called *magistracion*. In
imitation of the *Gentiles*, the *Latine* Writers call these
Parasceve's or *Evens* of preparation, by the name of
Cæna pura, as *Augustine* noteth up on the nineteenth of
Saint John; because of some resemblance that was be-
tweene them: but yet they had a difference too. For *Ca-
sanbon* hath taught us this, that in the *Cæna pura* amongst
the *Gentiles*, a part of the ceremony did consist in the
choice of meats: where no such thing occurs at all in
the preparations of the *Jewes*. Now these *Parasceves*, or
preparation dayes, the *Jewes* did afterward divide into
these foure parts. The first was *vegallacion* a prepara-
tive, as it were, to the preparation, which began in the
morning, and held on till noone. The second was *magis-
tracion*

Ex. 12. 10, 11, 12, 13.

De imagine
mundi, 2.

Exer. 16. 8. 10, 11.

xvii. largely taken, from noone, untill the evening-sacrifice of the day: the third *magis tardus occurrere*, or the approaching of the Sabbath, which began after the evening Sacrifice, continued till Sun-set, and was properly called the *magis xvi*, the fourth was the *magis tardis occurrere*, or entrance of the Sabbath, which lasted from Sun-set unto the dawning of the day. They had amongst them a tradition, or a custome rather, that one whole day, from the *magis xvii* till Sun-set, they might not travale above twelue miles: lest comming home too late, they might not have sufficient leisure to prepare things before the Sabbath. The time was, as *Buxdorfus* tells us, *quicunque cornu vel inflata tuba daretur signum*, when there was publick warning given by sound of Trumpet, that every man should cease from worke, and make all things ready for the Sabbath: though in these dayes, the Clerke or Sexton goeth about from doore to doore, to give notice of it. The time was so indeed, So *Josephus* tells us, that "in Hierusalem one of the Priests continually standing upon a Pillar, *et dicitur in templo eius vocem regonuere et in* misericordias, made knowne upon the even before by sound of Trumpet, which time the Sabbath did begin; and on the evening of the Sabbath, at which time it ended: that so the people might be certified both at what time to rest from labour, and at what time they might againe apply their minds and hands unto it. Now what *Josephus* saith of the weekly Sabbath the same was done, saith *Philo*, in the New-moones also: *tau leg. uniar et ciuius eti quoque*, which is much alike. And consequently we may say the same of the *Annually sabbaths*, in which the sonnes of Aaron were to blow the Trumpets, as well as in the New-moones or the weekly sabbaths. As for the works prohibited or permitted on these dayes of preparation, whether before the weekly or the *Annually sabbath*, I find little difference. This I am sure of, that it was as much unlawfull for the Judges to sit on any *capital* craties, the day before the *Annually*

Synag. Ind. c. 10.

De Bello L. 5. c. 9

Num. 10. 10.

Sabbath, as before the weekly: and the reason was, because the morrow after, of which sort soever, was thought to be no fit day for execution. *Indices retum' Capitalium non judicant in parasceve Sabbathi, aut in parasceve dies festi, quia non debet id fieri; & raus occidi postridie non potest.* So saith Rabbi *Maimony*. Of the ridiculous nicey of the moderne Jewes in these *Parascevas*, wee shall speake hereafter.

Ap. Calab. Ex. 10. n. 10.

(5) To come unto the day it selfe, it is said exprely in the Law, that therein thou shalt doe no manner of worke. What, no worke at all? How could they eat and drink, and put on their clothes? There are some manner of works, yet done every Sabbath: yea, by the Pharisees themselves, which were most strict obervers of the weekly Sabbaths. *Quis Phariseorum*, saith Saint Hierome, *in die sabbatis non extendit manum, portans cibum, porrigenus calicem, & cetera qua victimi sunt necessaria*: yet all all these were works. How could they circumcise, and offer sacrifice, and set on the Shew-bread on the Sabbath? Surely all these are works too; some of them very troublesome: yet commonly performed on the weekly Sabbath, of which more anon. Therefore when all is done, we must expound these words of *ordinary and servile labours*, such as are toylesome in themselves, and ay me at profit. *Zanchise*, I am sure, doth expound them so. *Nomen operis quod hic habet Moles, non significat opus simpliciter, sed opus quod propter opes comparandas suscipitur: Tale autem opus est vere servile.* Saint Hierome also expounds it, *Lege precepimus est ne in sabbatis opus servile faciamus, &c.* Wee are commanded in the Law to doe no servile works on the Sabbath dayes. And on the fift of *Amos* he affirmes the same; *jubet ne quid in eo operis servilis fiat, &c.* And so *Tertullian*; *Nec dubium est eos opus servile operatos, &c.* in his second booke against *Marriage*. If so, there is no difference at all betweene the weekly and the *Annually Sabbaths* in this one particular; because all servile works exprely are forbidden in them alio, as before

In Malb. 13.

In Manda. 4.

In Esa. 58. 13.

“ *Sabbaths, or our Feasts, to journey any whither. They tell us also, that it is not lawfull to execute a malefactor on the weekly Sabbath, although it be commanded that hee must be punished ; nor doe they doe it on the Feasts or Annually Sabbaths, as before we noted. As also that it is not lawfull to marry on the Sabbath day, nor on the Even before the Sabbath, nor the morrow after ; lest they pollute the Sabbath by dressing meat for the Feast : and on the solemne Festivals or the Annually Sabbaths, they were not suffered to be married, lest, say the Rabbins, the joy of the Festivall be forgotten through the joy of the wedding.* The many other trifling matters, which have beeene prohibited by the Jewish Doctours, and are now practised by that lenslesse and besotted people : shall somewhere be presented to you towards the end of this first Booke.

Ap. Ainsw. ii
Levii. 23.

(6) Againe, demand of these great *Doctors*, since it is laid expresly, that wee shall doe *no manner of worke*, whether there be at all *no case*, in which it may be lawfull to doe work on the *Sabbath day*: and then they have as many shifts to put off the *Sabbath*; as they had *niceties* before, wherewith all to beautifie it. A *woman* is in *travaile* on the *Sabbath day*; is it not lawfull for the *Midwife* to discharge her *duty*; although it be for *gaine*, and her *usuall trade*? Yes, saith that great *Clerke Rabbi Simeon*, *propter puerum unius diei vivum, solvunt sabbatum*; to save a childe alive we may breake the *Sabbath*. This childe being borne, must needs be circumcised on the eighth day after, which is the *Sabbath*: May not the *Ministers* do their office? yes, for the *Rabbins* have a *maxime*, that *Circumcisio pellit sabbatum*. And what? doth onely *Circumcision* drive away the *Sabbath*? No, any common danger doth it: And then they change the phrase a little, *& periculum mortis pellit sabbatum*. Nay more, the *Priest* that waiteth at the *Altar*, doth he doe no worke upon the *Sabbath*? yes more then on the other dayes, and for that too they have a *maxime*, viz. *qui ob-servari iussit sabbatum, is profanari iussit sabbatum*. Wee

Pet. Galatin, l
11.6, 10,

shall meet with some of these againe, hereafter. Therefor we must expound these words, *no manner of worke*, i. e. no kind of *servile worke*, as before we did: or else the *weekly Sabbath* and the fourth Commandement, must be a *noise of mace*, and a *Lesbian rule*, fit onely to be wrested and applied to whatsover end and purpose it shall please the *Rabbins*. More warily and more soundly have the *Christian Doctors*, yea, and the very *Heathens* determined of it: who judge that all such corporall labours, as tend unto the *morall* part of the fourth command, which are *rest* and *sanctity*; are fit and lawfull to be done on the *Sabbath day*. That men should rest upon such times, as are designed and set apart for Gods publick service, and leave their *daily labours* till some other season; the *Gentiles* knew full well by the *light of nature*. Therefore the *Flamines* were to take especiall care *ne foris opus fieret*, that no worke should be done on the *solemne dayes*; and to make it knowne by proclamation, *no quid tale ageretur*, that no man should presume to do it. Which done, if any one offended, he was forthwith mulcted, yet was not this enjoyed so strictly, that *no worke* was permitted in what case soever. All things which did concerne the *Gods*, and their publick *worship*, *vel ad urgencem vita uititatem respicerent*, or were important any way to mans life and wel-fare, were accounted *lawfull*. More punctually *Scervola*, being then chiefe *Pontifex*. Who being demanded what was *lawfull* to be done on the *Holy dayes*, made answere, *quod pretermissum nocaret*, which would miscarry if it were left undone. Hee therefore that did underprop a ruinous building, or rayse the cattaille that was fallen into the ditch; did not breake the *Holy-day* in his opinion. No more did he that washed his sheep, *si hoc remedii causa fieret*, were it not done to cleane the wooll and make it ready for the *shearers*; but onely for the cure of some sore or other: according unto that of *Virgil*, *Bantumque gregem fluvio mersare salubri*. Thus farre the *Gentiles* have resolued it, agreeably to the *Law of nature*:

and

Macrobius.
1.1.6.16.

Geog. 6.

and so farre do the Christian *Doctors*, yea, and our Lord and Saviour determine of it. The corporall labours of the Priest on the *Sabbath day*, as farre as it concernes Gods service: were accounted lawfull: *The Priest in the Temple breaketh the sabbath*, and yet were blamelesse. So was the corporall labour of a man, either to save his owne life, or preserve anothers: *Christ justified his Disciples* for gathering Corn upon the *sabbath*, being then an hungred, *Math. 12. Verse 1. & 3.* and restored many unto health on the *sabbath day*, *Math. 12.13.* and in other places. Finally, corporall labours to preserve Gods creatures, as to draw the *sheepe* out of the *pit*, *Math. 12.11.* and consequently to save their *Cattaille* from the *Thiefe*; a ruinous house from being over-blown by tempest; their *Corn* and *Hay* also from a sudden inundation; these and the like to these, were all judged lawfull on the *sabbath*. And thus you see, the *practice* of the *Gentiles* governed by the *light of nature*, is every way conformable to our Saviours *doctrine*: and the best *Comment* also on the fourth *Commandement*, as farre as it containes the *law of nature*.

(7) For such particular *Ordinances*, which have been severally affixed to the fourth Commandement, either by way of *Comment* on it, or addition to it: that which is most considerable is that prohibition in the 35 of *Exodus* *Vers. 12.* *Ye shall kindle no fire throughout your habitations on the sabbath day*. The *Rabbins*, some of them, conceive, that hereby is meant that no man must be beaten, or put to death upon the *sabbath*: and then it must be thus expounded, *ye shall kindle no fire*, i. e. to burne a man upon the *sabbath*, who is condemned by the *Law* to that kinde of death; and consequently not to put him on that day, unto any punishment at all. Others of late, referre that prohibition unto the building of the *Tabernacle*, in that Chapter mentioned: and then the meaning will be this, that they should make no fire on the *sabbath*, no, though it were to hasten on the worke of the *holy Tabernacle*.

H 2

Philo

Philo restraines it chiefly unto manuall Trades, μάνιστα τετραγωνών καὶ θεραπονίων, such whereby men doe get their livings: and then it must be thus interpreted, γε οὐδὲν φάγε φωτιάνην, that is, to doe any common ordinary and servile works, like as doe common Bakers, Smiths, and Brewers, by making it part of their usuall trade. The later *Rabbins*, almost all, and many Christian Writers also taking the hint from *Vatablus*, and *Tremellus* in their Annotations, referre it unto dressing of meat, according to the latter custome. Nay, generally the *Jews* in the later times, were more severe and rigid in the exposition of that Text; and would allow no fire at all, except in sacred matters onely. For whereas *Rabbi Aben Ezra* had so expounded it, *quod licet ignem accendere ad calefaciendum si surgeret frigus*, that it was lawfull to make a fire wherewith to warme ones selfe, in the extremity of cold weather; though not to dresse meate with it for that dayes expence: the *Rabbins* generally would have proceeded against him as an *Hereticke*; and purposelie writ a Booke in confutation of him which they called the *Sabbath*. How this interpretation was thus generally received, I cannot say. But I am verily perswaded that it was not so in the beginning: and that those words of *Moses*, *qua coquenda sunt, hodie coquite, bake that which yee will bake to day, and seeth what yee will seeth*, which words are commonly produced to justifie and confirme this fancie; do prove quite contrary to what some would have them. The Text and Context both make it plaine and manifest that the *Jewes* baked their *Mannah* on the *Sabbath day*. The people on the sixt day had gathered twice as much as they used to do, whereof the *Rulers of the Congregation* acquainted *Moses*. And *Moses* said, *to morrow is the rest of the holy Sabbath unto the Lord: bake that which yee will bake to day, and seeth what yee will seeth, and that which remayneth over, lay up to be kept untill the morning*. i. e. As much as you conceive will be sufficient for this present day; that *bake* or *boyle*, according as you use to doe;

Deut. Mos. 1.3.

Tobat. in 10. 11. 6. 7. 2.

Ex. 16. 23.

doe: and for the rest, let it be laid by, to be baked or boyled to morrow, that you may have wherewith to feed you, on the *Sabbath day*. That this interpretation is most true and proper, appeares by that which followeth in the holy Scripture: viz. *They laid it up as Moses bade, and it did not stinke, neither was any worme therein*; as that which they had kept till morning, on some day before, *Verse 20*. This makes it evident that the *Mannah* was laid up unbaked: for otherwise what wonder had it been at all, that it did neither breed worme, nor stinke, had it been baked the day before. Things of that nature so preserved, are farre enough from purifying in so short a time. This, I am verily periwaded was the practice then: and for this light unto that practice, I must ingenuously confess my selfe obliged to *Theophilus Braborne*, the first that ever looked so neere into *Moses* meaning. And this most likely, was the practice of the *Jewes* in after times, even till the *Pharisees* had almost made the words of God of no effect, by their traditions: for then came in those many rigid ordinances about this day, which made the day and them ridiculous unto all the *Heathens*. Sure I am that the Scriptures call it a day of gladnesse, for it was a Festivall; and therefore probable it is, that they had good cheere. And I am sure that *D. Bonind*, the Founder of these *Sabbatarian* fancies, though he conceive that dressing meat upon the *Sabbath*, was by the words of *Moses*, utterly unlawfull in the time of *Mannah*: yet hee concives withall, that that *Commandement*, was proper onely unto the time of *Mannah*, in the *Wildernes*, and to to be restrained unto that time onely. Therefore, by his confession, the *Jewes* for after times might as well dresse their meat on the *Sabbath day*, as on any other: notwithstanding this injunction of not *kindling fire*. Indeed why not as well dresse meat, as serve it in: the attendance of the servant at his Masters Table, being no lesse considerable on the *Sabbath day*, then of the *Cookes* about the *Kitchin*: especially in those riotous and excessive Feasts, which the *Jewes* kept upon this day, however probably they might dresse their meat on the day before.

Chap. 4.

2 Edit. p. 137.
138.

(8) I say thole riotous and excessive Feasts which the Jewes kept upon that day; and I have good authoritie for what I say. Saint *Augustine* tells us of them they kept the Sabbath, onely * *ad luxuriam & ebrietatem*; and that they rested onely ** *ad nugas & luxurias suas*; that they consumed the day, *languido & luxurioso otio*; and finally did abuse the same, not onely * *deliciis Iudaicis*, but *ad nequitiam*, even to sinne and naughtiness. Put altogether, and we have luxury, and drunkennesse, and sports and pleasures enough to manifest that they spared not any dainties to set forth their Sabbath, though on a Pharisaicall prohibition they forbare to dresse their meats upon it. Nay, *Plutarch* layes it to their charge, that they did feast it on their Sabbath, with no small excesse, but of wine especially. Who thereupon conjectureth, that the name of Sabbath had its originall from the Orgies or Feasts of *Bacchus*; whose Priests used often to ingeminate the word *Sabbi, Sabbi*, in their drunke Ceremonies. Which being so, it is the more to be admired, that generally the *Romanis* did upbraid this people with their Sabbath's fast. *Augustus* having been at the *Bathes*, and fasting there a long time together; gives notice of it to *Tiberius*, thus: *ne iudeus quidem tam diligenter sabbatius jejunium faciat*; that neyther any *law* had fasted more exactly on the Sabbath then he did that day. *Martial* reckoning up some things of unflavoury finell, names amongst others, *jejunia sabbatariorum*; for by that name hee did contempnously mean the Jewes, as before I noted. And where the *Romanis* in those times, began, some of them, to incline to the Jewish Ceremonies, and were observant of the Sabbath, as we shall see hereafter in a place more proper: *Petrinus* objects against them this, *habeat monem omittit, necontingat sabbatis patientia*, i.e. that being Romans as they were, they ministered out their Prayers as the Jewes accustomed, and by observing of the Fast on the Jewish Sabbath, grew lame and pale for dery hunger. So *Gisch, Petronius* writter, that the Jewes did celebrate their Sabbath alighted yester day in a noon, with eating *Sab-*

* *Tract. 3. in Job.*
* *De 10. chordis c. 3.*
* *In Psal. 91.*
* *In Psal. 32.*

sympo Isae 1.4.

Sueton. in Oflau. c. 76.

Bar. 5.

*Sabbath, jejunia lege, by a legall fast: and Iustin yet more generally, septimum diem more gentis sabbatum appellatum in onore avum jejuno sacrificie, Moses, that Moses did ordaine the Sabbath to be a fasting day for ever. I hat the Jewes fasted very often, sometimes twice a weeke, the Pharisee hath told us in Saint *Lukes* Gospel: and probably the *jejunia sabbatariorum* in the *Poet Martial*, might reflect on this. But that they fasted on the Sabbath is a thing repugnant both to the *Scriptures*, *Fathers*, and all good antiquity: except in one case onely, which was when their City was besieged, as *Rabbi Moses Agyptius* hath resolued it. Nay, if a man had fasted any time upon the Sabbath, they used to punish him in this sort, *ut sequentier iam die jejunaret*, to make him fast the next day after. Yet on the other side, I cannot but conceive that those before remembred, had some ground or reason, why they did charge the Jewes with the Sabbath Fast: for to suppose them ignorant of the Jewish custome, considering how thick they lived amongst them, even in *Rome* it selfe, were a strange opinion. The rather since by *Plutarch*, who lived not long after *Sueton*, if hee lived not with him; the Jewes are generally accused for too much riot and excesse upon that day. For my part, I conceive it thus. I finde in *Nehemiah*, that when the people were returned from the captivity, Ezra the Priest brought forth the *Law* before the *Congregation*, and read it to them from the morning until mid-day: which done, they were dismissed by *Nehemiah* to eat, and drinke, and make great joy; which they did accordingly. This was upon the first day of the *Feast of Tabernacles*, one of the solemn annual Sabbaths: and this they did for eight dayes together, from the first day unto the last that the *Feast* continued. After when as the *Church* was settled, and that the *Law* was read amongst them in their *Synagogues* on the weekly Sabbath, most probable it is; that they continued the same custome; holding the *Congregation* from morn to noon: and that the Jewes came thither Fasting, (as generally*

Ap. Baron.
A. 34. n. 156.

Cap. 8. 1, 3.

Vers 10. 12.

Vers 18.

in vix. Moys.

§ 11. Ind. cap. 10.

generally men doe now unto the Sacrement) the better to prepare themselues and their attention for that holy exercise. Sure I am that *Iosephus* tells us, that at mid-day they used to dismisse the Assemblies, that being the ordinary houre for their repast: as also that *Buxdorffus* saith of the *moderne Iewes*, that *ultra tempus meridianum ieiunare non licet*, it is not lawfull for them to fast beyond the noon-tide on the Sabbath dayes. Besides they which found so great fault with our Lords Disciples for eating a few eares of Corn on the Sabbath day, are not unlikely, in my minde to have aimed at this. For neither was the bodily labour of that nature, that it should any wayes offend them, in so high a measure: and the defence made by our Lord in their behalfe, being that of *Davids* eating of the *shew-bread*, when he was an *hungred*; is more direct and literall to justifie his Disciples *eating*, then it was their *working*. This abstinence of the *Iewes*, that lived amongst them; the *Romans* noted; and being good Trenchermen themselues at all times and seasons, they used to hit them in the teeth with their Sabbaths fasting. But hereina I submit my selfe to better judgements.

(9) There was another *prohibition* given by God about the Sabbath, which being misinterpreted became as great a snare unto the consciences of men, as that before remembred of not *kindling fire*, and *dressing meate* upon the Sabbath: viz. *Let no man goe out of his place on the seventh day*. Which *prohibition*, being a bridle onely unto the people, to keepe them in, from seeking after *Mannah*, as before they did, upon the Sabbath: was afterwards extended to restrain them also, either from taking any journey, or walking forth into the fields, on the Sabbath dayes. Nay, so precise were some amongst them, that they accounted it unlawfull to stirre hand or foot upon the Sabbath: *ne leviter quisquam se commovet, quod si fecerit, legi transgressor sit*, as *Saint Hierome* hath it. Others more charitably, chalked them out a way, how farre they might adventure, and how farre they might not: though in this

the *Doctors* were divided. Some made the Sabbath dayes journey to be 2000. Cubits, of whom *Origen* tells us: others restrained it to 2000. foot; of whom *Hierome* speakes; and some againe enlarged it unto six furlongs, which is three quarters of a mile. For where *Iosephus* hath informed us that *Mount Olivet* was sixe furlongs from *Hierusalem*; and where the *Scriptures* tell us, that they were distant *about a Sabbath dayes journey*: wee may perceive by that, how much a Sabbath dayes journey was accounted then. But of these things we may have opportunity to speake hereafter. In the mean time, if the *injunction* be so *absolute* and *generall*, as they say it is, we may demand of these great *Clerks*, as their *Successours* did of our Lord and Saviour; *by what authoritie they doe these things*, and warrant that which is not warranted in the Text: if so the Text be to be expounded. Certaine I am that *ab initio non fuit sic*, from the beginning was it neither so, nor so. The *Scripture* tells us, that when the people were in the *Wildernes*, they found a man gathering sticks on the Sabbath day. They found him, where? Not in the *Campe*; hee was not so audacious as to transgresse the Law in the open view of all the people: knowing how great a penalty was appointed for the *Sabbath-breaker*: but in some place farre off, wherin he might offend without feare or danger. Therefore the people were permitted to walke forth, on the Sabbath day; and to walke further then 2000. foot, or 2000. Cubits: otherwise they had never found out this unlucky fellow. And so saith *Philo*, that they did. *Πυλῶν ταρετούστε τίνεις οὐκείαν, οὐ τοις καθαροτάτω καὶ ινοχαλοτι τούτων, &c.* Some of the people going out into the wildernes, that they might finde some quiet and retired place, in which to make their *Prayers* to God; saw what they looked not for, that wretched and prohibited spectacle. So that the people were not stinted in their goings on the Sabbath day, nor now, nor in a long time after: as by the course of the ensuing story will at large appeare. Even in the time.

De vita Moys.
1.3.

time of *Mannah*, they did not thinke themselues obliged not to stirre abroad upon the *Sabbath*, or not to travale above such and such a compasse: in case they did it not, out of a meere distrust in God, as before they did, to gather *Mannah*; but either for their *meditation*, or their *recreation*.

(10) What said I for their *recreation*? what was that permitted? yes, no doubt it was. Though the Commandement did prohibit *all manner of work*; yet it permitted, questionlesse, some manner of *pleasures*. The *Sabbath* rest had otherwise been more toylesome, then the weekdayes *labour*: and none had gained more by it, then the *Oxe* and *Asse*. Yea this injunction last related, *Let none go out of his place on the seventh day*, had been a greater bondage to that wretched people, then all the drudgeries of *Egypt*. *Tostatus* tells us on that Text, *non est simpliciter intelligendum*, &c. It is not so to be conceived, that on that day the people might not stirre abroad, or go out of their doores at all; but that they might not goe to labour, or traffike about any wordly busynesses. *Etenim die sabbati ambulari possunt Hebrei ad solaciandum*, &c. For the *Jewes* lawfully might walk forth on the *Sabbath* day, to recreate and refresh themselues, so it be not in pursuite of profit. And this he saith, on the confession of the *Jewes* themselves, *ut ipsi communiter confitentur*. *Buxdorffus*, in his *Jewish Synagogue*, informes us further. *Permissum est juvenibus ut tempore sabbati, currendo, spatiando, saltando se oblectent*, &c. It is, saith he, permitted, that their young men may walke, and run, yea and *dance* also on the *Sabbath* day; and leape and jumpe, and use other manlike Exercises: in case they doe it for the honour of the *holy Sabbath*. This speakes he of the *moderne Jewes*, men as tenacious of their *Sabbath*, and the rigours of it, as any of the Ancients were: save that the *Esses* and the *Pharisees* had their private flings above the meaning of the Law. Of *manly Exercises* on the *Sabbath*, wee shall see more anon in the *seventh Chapter*. And as for *dancing*, that they

Cap. 10.

used anciently to *dance upon the Sabbath*, is a thing unquestionable. Saint *Austine* saith, they used it, and rebukes them for it: not that they *danced* upon the *Sabbath*, but that they spent & wasted the *whole day* in *dancing*. There is, no question, an abuse even of lawfull pleasures. And this is that which he so often layes unto them.

Melius tota die foderent, quam tota die saltarent: better the men did digge *all day*, then *dance all day*. And for the women, *melius eorum foemina lanam facerent, quam illo die* [&c.] *in neomeniis saltarent*: better the women spin, then waste all that day and the *New-mooones* in *dancing*, as they use to do. I have translated it *all that day*, agreeable unto the Fathers words in another place; where it is laid expresly in *totum die*: *Melius foemina eorum die sabbati lanas facerent, quam tota die* [&c.] *in neomeniis suis impudisce saltarent*.

Where note, not *dancing simply*, but *lascivious dancing*; and *dancing all day long* without respect to pious and religious duties; are by him disliked. *Ignatius* also saith the same, where he exhorts the people not to observe the *Sabbath* in a *Jewish fashion*: walking a limited space, and setting all their mind, *εγκατιλεγοντος*, as they did in *dancing*, and in *capering*. They used also on that day to make *invitations*, *Feasts*, and *assemblies* of *good neighbourhood*; to foster brotherly love and *concord* amongst one another: a thing, even by the *Pharisees* themselues both allowed and practised. Saint *Luke* hath given an instance of it, how *Christ went into the house of a chiefe Pharisee to eat bread on the Sabbath day*: In plainer termes the *Pharisee* invited him that day to *dinner*. Wee may assure ourselves to *famous a Professour* had not invited so *great a Prophet*; nor had our *Saviour Christ* accepted of the *invitation*: had they not both esteemed it a lawfull matter. It seemes it was a common practice for friends to meeete and *feast together on the Sabbath*. *Finito cultu Dei solebant amici convenire, & inter se convivia agitare*, as *Chemnitius* notes upon the place. Lastly, they used upon this day, as to invite their Friends and Neighbours, to to make them

1a P'a:32.

1. v.3. in
1ob.1.De decembris.
d. 6. c. 3.Ad Magne-
nos.

Luk: 14:11.

Harmon. c. 119.

In Exod 12.

them welcome: oynting their heads with oile to refresh their bodies; and spending store of wine amongst them, to make glad their hearts. In which regard, whereas all other marketing was unlawfull on the Sabbath dayes; there never was restraint of selling wine: the Iewes believing that therein they brake no Commandement *Hebrei faciunt aliquid speciale in vino, viz. quod cum in sabbato suo à ceteris venditionibus & emptionibus cesset, solum vinum vendunt; credentes se non solvere sabbatum, as Tostatus hath it.* How they abused this lawfull custome of Feasting with their Friends and Neighbours on the Sabbath day, into foule riot and excesse; we have seen already. So having spoken of the weekly and the Annall Sabbaths, the difference and agreement which was betweene them, both in the institution, and the observation: as also of such severall observances as were annexed unto the same; what things the Iewes accounted lawfull to be done, and what unlawfull, and how farre they declared the same in their constant practice: it is high time that we continue on the story, ranking such speciall passages as occure hereafter, in their place and order.



C H A P. V I.

Touching the observation of the S A B-
B A T H, unto the time the people were
established in the Promised Land.

(1) The Sabbath not kept constantly during the time the people wandred in the Wildernes. (2) Of him that gathered sticks on the Sabbath day. (3) Wherein the sanctifying of the Sabbath did consist, in the time of Moses. (4) The Law not ordered to be read in the Congregation every Sabbath day. (5) The sack of Hiericho and the destruction of that people was upon the Sabbath. (6) No Sabbath, after this, without Circumcision; and how that Ceremony could consist with the Sabbath rest. (7) What moued the Iewes, to preferre Circumcision before the Sabbath. (8) The standing still of the Sun at the prayers of Ioluah, &c. could not but make some alteration about the Sabbath. (9) What was the Priests worke on the Sabbath day; and whether it might stand with the Sabbaths rest. (10) The scattering of the Levites over all the Tribes, had no relation unto the reading of the Law on the Sabbath dayes.



(1)

E left this people in the Wildernes, where the Law was given them: and whether this Commandement were there kept, or not, hath been made a question; and that both by the Jewish Doctors, and by the Chri-

Christian. Some have resolved it negatively, that it was not kept in all that time, which was forty yeares: and others, that it was at some times omitted, according to the stations or removes of *Israel*; or other great and weighty busineses, which might intermit it. It is affirmed by *Rabbi Solomon*, that there was onely one *Passeover* observed, whiles they continued in the *Deserts*; notwithstanding that it was the principall solemnity of all the yeare. *Et si illud fuit omissum, multo fortius aliam minus principalia.* If that, saith he, then by an argument a *majore ad minus*, much rather were the lesser Festivals omitted also. More punctually *Rabbi Eleazar*, who on those words of *Exodus*, and the people rested the seventh day, *Chap. 16. 30.* gives us to understand, that for the space of forty yeares, whilſt they were in the *Wildernesſe*, non fecerunt nisi duntaxat primum sabbatum, they kept no more then that first Sabbath. According unto that of the Prophet *Amos*, *Have yee offered unto mee sacrifices and offerings in the wildernesſe forty yeares, O house of Israel?* On which authority, *Amen* for the *Christian Doctors* doth affirme the same: *Sabbat aper annos 40. non observari in deserto populus Dei.* *Amos 5. 25.* The argument may be yet inforced by one more particular, that *Circumcision* was omitted for all that while, and yet it had precedency of the *Sabbath*, both in the institution for the times before; and in the observation for the times that followed. If therefore neither *Circumcision*, nor the *daily sacrifices*, nor the *Feast of Passeover*, being the principall of the *Annually Sabbaths*, were observed by them till they came to the land of *Canaan*: why may not one conclude the same of the *weekly Sabbaths*? Others conceive not so directly; but that it was omitted at sometimes, and on some occasions. Omitted at some times, as when the people journied in the *Wildernesſe* many dayes together, *nulla requie aliquorum diorum habita*, without rest or ceasing: and this the *Hebrew Doctors* willingly confess, as *Tostatus* tells us, Omitted too on some occasions, as when the

*Ap. Galatini 1.
11.6.10.*

Chap. 5. 25.

Probl. loc. 55.

In Exod. 12:

spies were sent to discover the Land, what was the strength thereof, and what the riches; in which discovery they spent forty dayes: it is not to be thought that they kept the *Sabbath*. It was a perillous work that they went about, not to be discontinued and layed by so often, as there were *Sabbaths* in that time. But not to stand upon conjectures, the *Jewish Doctors* say expresly, that they did not keepe it. So *Galatine* reports from their owne records, that in their latter exposition on the *Book of Numbers*, upon those words, *send me that they may search the Chap. 13. 2.* *Land of Canaan*; they thus resolute it. *Nuncio praecepti licitum est, &c.* A Messenger that goes upon Command, may travaille any day, at what time hec will. And why? because he is a Messenger upon command. *Nuncius autem praecepti excludit sabbatum.* The phratre is somewhat darke, but the meaning plaine: that those which went upon that errand, did not keepe the Sabbath. Certaine it also is, that for all that time, no nor for any part thereof, the people did not keepe the Sabbath, completely as the Law appointed. For where there were two things concurring to make up the Sabbath, first, rest from labour, and secondly, the sacrifices destinate unto the day: however they might rest some *Sabbaths* from their daily labours; yet sacrifices they had none untill they came into the land of *Canaan*.

(2) Now that they rested, sometimes, on the Sabbath day, and perhaps did so, generally, in those forty yeares, is manifest by that great and memorable businesse, touching the man that gathered sticks upon the Sabbath. The case is briefly this: the people being in the *wildernes*, found a man gathering sticks on the Sabbath day, and brought him presently unto *Moses*. *Moses* consulted with the Lord, and it was resolued that the offender should be stoned to death, which was done accordingly. The Law before had ordered it, that he who so offended should be put to death; but the particular manner of his death was not knowne till now. The more remarkable is this case, be-

Lib. 11. c. 10.

*Numb. 15.
Vers. 31. ad 37.*

be-

Deut. Mos. 1.3

De judicio Dni.

In locum.

Hom. 39. in
Matth. 12.

Qu. 31. in Num.

because it was the onely time that wee can heare of, that execution had been done upon any one, according as the Law enacted: and thereupon the Fathers have took some pains, to search into the reasons of so great severity. Philo accuseth him of a double crime, in one wherof hee was the principall, and an Accessary onely in the other. For where it was before commanded, that there should be no fire kindled on the *Sabbath day*: this party did not onely labour on the day of rest; but also laboured in the gathering of such materials, & ολη πυρος εστι την τεχνην αερος, which might administer fuel to prohibited fire. Saint *Basil* leemes a little to bemoan the man, in that hee smarted so for his first offence; not having otherwise offended either God or Man: and makes the motive of his death, neither to consist in the multitude of his sinnes, or the greatnessse of them, εν μονη δε μεγαλων κατεβασια, but onely in his disobedience to the will of God. But we must have a more particular motive yet then this. And first *Rupertus* tells us, *per superbiam illud quod videbatur exiguum commisit*, that he did sinne presumptuously with an high hand against the Lord: and therefore God decreed he should die the death: God not regarding either what or how great it was, sed qua mente fecerat, but with what minde it was committed. But this, is more, I think, then *Rupertus* knew, being no searcher of the heart. Rather I shall subscribe herein unto Saint *Chrysostome*. Who makes this Quere first, seeing the *Sabbath*, as Christ saith, was made for man, why was he put to death that gathered sticks upon the *Sabbath*. And then returns this answere to his owne demand, οτι ει ευενον κατεργατε εγεινων, &c. because, in case God had permitted that the Law should have been slighted in the first beginning, none would have kept it for the future. *Theodorus* to that purpose alio, ne autor fieret leges transgrediendi, lest other men encouraged by his example shoud have done the like: the punishment of this one man, striking a terror unto all. No question but it made the people farre more ob.

obseruant of the *Sabbath*, then they would have beene: who were at first but backwards in the keeping of it, as is apparant by that passage in the sixteenth of *Exod.* v.27. And therefore stood the more in need, not onely of a watch-word or *Memento*, even in the very front of the Law it selfe; but of some sharper course to stirre up their memory. Therefore this execution was the more requisite at this instant, aswell because the *Jewes* by reason of their long abode in a place of continual servile toyle, could not be suddenly drawne unto contrary offices without some strong impression of terror: as also because nothing is more needfull then with extremity to punish the first transgressours of those Lawes, that do require a more exact observation for the times to come. What time this Tragedy was acted, is not known for certain. By *Torniellus* it is placed in the yeare 2548. of the Worlds Creation; which was some foure yeares after the Law was given. More then this is not extant in the *Scripture* touching the keeping of the *Sabbath*, all the litle of *Moses*. What was done after, we shall see in the *land of Promise*.

(3) In the mean time, it is most proper to this place, to take a little notice of those *several duties*, wherein the *sanctifying* of the *Sabbath* did consist especially: that we may know the better what we are to looke for at the peoples hands, when wee bring them thither. Two things the Lord commanded in his holy *Scripture*, that concern the *Sabbath*, the keeping holy of the same: one in relation to the *people*; the other in reference to the *Priest*. In reference to the *people*, he commanded onely *rest* from labour, that they should *doe no manner of worke*; and that contained expresa in the Law it selfe. In reference to the *Priest*, he commanded *sacrifice*, that on the *Sabbath day*, over and above the *daily sacrifice*, there should be offered to the Lord *two Lambs of an yeare old*, *without blemish*, *one in the morning*, and the other in the evening: as also to prepare first, and then place the *Shewbread*, being twelve loaves,

Numb. 28.

loaves, one for every Tribe, continually before the Lord, every Sabbath day. These severall references to divided, the Priest might do his part, without the people, and contrary the people doe their part without the Priest. Of any Sabbath duties, which were to be performed betweene them; wherein the Priest and people were to joyne together: the Scriptures are directly silent. As for these severall duties, that of the Priest, the Shew-bread, and the sacrifice, was not in practice till they came to the Land of Canaan: and then, though the Priest offered for the people; yet he did not, with them. So that for forty yeares together, all the life of Moses, the sanctifying of the Sabbath did consist onely, for ouglat we finde, in a bodily rest, a ceasing from the works of their weekly labours: and afterwards in that, and in the sacrifices which the Priest made for them. Which as they seeme to be the greater of the two, so was there nothing at all therein, in which the people were to doe; no not so much, except some few, as to be spectators: the sacrifices being offered onely in the Tabernacle, as in the Temple after; when they had a Temple, the people being scattered over all the Country in their Townes and Villages. Of any reading of the Law, or exposition of the same unto the people; or publicke forme of prayers to be presented to the Lord, in the Congregation; wee finde no footstep now, nor a long time after. None in the time of Moses, for hee had hardly perfected the Law before his death: the booke of *Deuteronomy* being dedicated by him, a very little before God tooke him. None in a long time after, no not till *Nehemiah's* dayes, as wee shall see hereafter in that place and time. The resting of the people was the thing commanded, in imitation of Gods rest when his works were finished: that as hee rested from the works which hee had created, so they might also rest in memorall of it. But the employment of this rest to particular purposes either of contemplation or devotion; that not declared unto us in the Word of God: but left at large,

large, either unto the libertie of the people, or the Authoritie of the Church. Now what the people did, how they employed this rest of theirs, that *Philo* tells us in his third Booke of the life of *Moses*. *Moses*, saith hee, ordained, that since the World was finished on the seventh day, all of his Common-wealth following therein the course of nature should spend the seventh day, *εἰς ἴασιν τοῦ πολιτείας*, in Festivall delights, resting therein from all their works: yet not to spend it as some do in laughter, childish sports, or (as the *Romans* did their time, of publick Feastings) in beholding the activity either of the *Iester* or common Dancers; but *εἰς τὴν ὄντος φιλοσοφίαν*, and a little after, *εἰς τὴν ἐπικηρύξιν*, *καὶ τελείωσιν*, in the study of true philosophy, and in the contemplation of the works of nature. And in another place, He did command, saith he, that as in other things so in this also they should imitate the Lord their God, working six dayes, and resting on the seventh, *καὶ δεκατετάρτη μέρη τοῦ πολιτείας*, and spending it in meditation of the works of nature, as before is said. And not so only, but that upon that day they should consider of their actions in the weeke before, if happily they had offended against the Law: *καὶ τὴν τοῦ πολιτείας δέκατην μέρη τοῦ πολιτείας*, &c. that so they might correct what was done amisse, and be the better armed to offend no more. So in his booke *de munus opificio*, he affirms the same, that they implied that day in divine Philosophy, *εἰς βασικώσιν μέρη*, even for the bettering of their manners, and reckoning with their consciences. That thus the Jewes did spend the day, or some part thereof, is very probable; and wee may take it well enough upon *Philo's* word: but that they spent it thus, by the direction or command of *Moses*, is not so easily proved, as it is affirmed; though for my part, I willingly durst assent unto it. For be it *Moses* so appointed, yet this concernes onely the behaviour of particular persons; and reflects nothing upon the publick duties, in the Congregation.

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(4) It's true that *Philo* tells us in a booke not extant, how *Moses* also did ordaine these publike meetings. *Τις, ιστορεῖ τὸν νόμον ταῦτας ἐγένεται*, What then did *Moses* order to be done on the Sabbath day? He did appoint, saith he, that we should meet all in some place together, and there set down with modesty and a general silence, *τὸν νόμον ἀρραών*, to heare the Law, that none plead ignorance of the same. Which custome we continue still, harkening with wonderfull silence to the Law of God, unless perhaps we give some joyful acclamation at the hearing of it: some of the Priests, if any present, or otherwise some of the Elders, reading the Law, and then expounding it unto us, till the night come on. Which done, the people are dismissed, full of divine instruction, and true pietie. So he, or rather out of him, *Eusebius*. But here by *Philo* leave, we must paule a while. This was indeed the custome in our Saviours time, and when *Philo* lived: and he was willing, as it seemes, to fetch the pedigree thereof as farre as possibly hee could. So *Sallianus* tells him on the like occasion. *Videtur Philo Iudaorum morem in synagogis differendi antiquitate donare volsuisse, quem à Christo & Apostolis observatum legimus*. The same reply wee make to *Iosephus* also, who tells us of their lawmaker, that he appointed not, that they should onely heare the Law once or twice a yeaere: *αλλ' ἐγένετο ἐγένετο τοις ἑργασίαις ἐπί τὸν ἀρραών τὸν νόμον*, but that once every week we should come together to hear the laws, that we might perfectly learn the same. Which thing, saith he, all other Law-makers did omit. And so did *Moses* too, by *Iosephus* leave, unless we make a day and a yeaere all one. For being now to take his farewell of that people, and having oft advised them in his exhortation to meditate on the words that he had spoken, even when they carried in their houses, and walked by the way, when they rose up, and when they went to bed: he called the Priests unto him, and gave the Law into their hands, and

Annals.
An. 2546. n. 10

Cont. Ap. 2.
Deut. 6.7.

and into the hands of all the Elders of Israel. And hee commanded them and said, *At the end of every seven yeares, in the solemnity of the yeaere of release, at the Feast of Tabernacles; when all Israel is come to appeare before the Lord their God, in the place that thou shalt choose, thou shalt reade this Law before Israel in their hearing: that they may heare, and that they may learn and feare the Lord your God, and observe all the words of this Law to do them.* This was the thing decreed by *Moses*; and had beeene needlesse, if not worse, in case hee had before provided that they should have the Law read openly unto them every Sabbath day. So then, by *Moses* order, the Law was to be read publickly, every seventh yeaere onely: in the yeaere of release, because then servants being manumitted from their bondage, and Debtours from their Creditours, all sorts of men might heare the Law with the greater cheerfulness: and in the Feast of Tabernacles, because it lasted longer then the other Festivals, and so it might be read with the greater leasure, and heard with more attention: and then it was but this Law too, the booke of *Deuteronomy*. This to be done onely in the place which the Lord shall choose to be the seat and receptacle of his holy *Tabernacle*; not in inferiour Townes; much lesle petite Villages: and yet this thought sufficient to instruct the people in the true knowledge of Gods Law, and keeping of his testimonies. And indeed happy had they been, had they observed this order and decree of *Moses*; and every seventh yeaere reade the Law as he appointed: they had then questionlesse escaped many of those great afflictions, which afterwards God brought upon them for contempt thereof. That in the after times, the Law was read unto them every Sabbath, in their severall *Synagogues*, is most cleere and manifest: as by the testimony of *Philo* and *Iosephus*, before related; and by sufficient evidence from the holy *Gospel*. But in these times, and after for a thousand yeares, there were no *Synagogues*, no publick reading of the Law in the Congregation.

tion, excepting every seventh yeare onely, and that not often: Sure I am, not so often as it should have beeene. So that in reference to the people, we have but one thing onely to regard, as yet, touching the keeping of the Sabbath, which is *rest from labours*, rest from all manner of worke, as the Law commanded: and how farre this was kept, and how farre dispensed with, we shal see plainly by the story. The private meditations and devotions of particular men, stand not upon record at all: and therefore we must onely judge by external actions.

105. 4. 19.

2. 10. 12.

105. 5.

105. 6.

(5) This said and shewne, we will passe over Jordan, with the house of Israel, and trace their foot-steps in that countrey. This happened on the tenth day of the first moneth, or the moneth of *Nisan*, forty dayes after the death of *Moses* Ann. 2584. That day they pitched their tents in *Gilgal*. And the first thing they did, was to erect an Altar in memoriall of it: that done to circumcise the people, who all the time that they continued in the wilderness, (as many as were borne that time) were uncircumcised. The 14. of the same moneth did they keepe the *Passcover*: and on the morrow after God did cease from raining *Mannah*; the people eating of the fruits of the land of Canaan. And here, the first Sabbath which they kept, as I conjecture, was the day before the siege of *Hiericho*: which Sabbath, probably was that very day, whereon the Lord appeared to *Joshua*; and gave him order how he should proceed in that great busynesse. The morrow after, being the first day of the week, they began to compass it, as the Lord commanded, the Priests some of them bearing the Arke, some going before with Trumpets; and the residue of the people, some before the Trumpetters, some behinde the Arke. This did they once a day, for sixe dayes together. But when the seventh day came, which was the Sabbath, they compassed the Towne about seven times, and the Priests blew the Trumpets, and the people shouted, and they tooke the Citie: destroying in it young and old, man, woman, and children.

children. I said it was the Sabbath day, for so it is agreed on generally, both by *Jewes* and *Christians*. One of the seven dayes; be it which it will, must needs be the Sabbath day; and be it which it will, there had been work enough done on it: but the seventh day wheron they went about seven times, and destroyed it finally, was indeed the Sabbath. For first the *Jews* expressly say it, that the overthrow of *Iericho* fell upon the Sabbath; and that from thence did come the saying, *Qui sanctificari jussit sabbatum, is profanari jussit sabbatum*. So *R. Kimchi* hath resolved on the 6. of *Joshua*. The like *Tostatus* tells us, is affirmed by *R. Solomon*, who addes that both the falling of the wall, and slaughter of that wicked people, was purposely deferred, *In honorem sabbati*, to adde the greater lustre unto the sabbath. *Galatine* prooves the same out of divers *Rabbines*, this *Solomon* before remembred, and *R. Iose* in the Book called *Sedar Olam*; and many of them joyned together: *in Beresith ketanna*, or lesser exposition on the *Bible* or *Genesis*: they all agreeing upon this, *Dies sabbatis erat, cum fuit pratum in Hiericho*; and againe, *Non capta fuit Hiericho nisi in sabbato*; That certainly both the battell and the execution fell upon the sabbath. So for the Christian writers, *Tertullian* saith not onely in the generall, that one of thole seven dayes was the Sabbath day: but makes that day to be the Sabbath, wherein the Priests of God did not onely work, *Sed & in ore gladii pradata sit civitas ab omni populo*, but all the people sacked the Citie, and put it to the fwoerd. *Nec dubium est eos opus servile operatos, &c.* And certainly, saith he, they did much servile worke that day, when they destroyed so great a Citie, by the Lords commandement. *Procopius Cæsarius* doth affirme the same. *Sabbato Iesus expugnavit & cepit Hiericho*. *Austin* thus, *Primus Iesus nunc divino præcepto sabbatum non servavit, quo facto muri Hiericho ultro ceciderunt*. So lastly, *Lyra* on the place, who saith, that *dies septimus, in quo capta Hiericho, sabbatum erat*: and yet they did not sin, saith hee, because they did it on that day

day by Gods own appointment. This doth indeed excuse the parties, both from the guilt of sinne, and from the penalty of the law: but then it shews withall, that this Commandement is of a different qualitie from the other nine, and that it is no part of the law of nature. God never hath commanded any thing contrary to the law of nature, unless it were *tentandi causa*, as in the case of Abraham and Isaac. As for the *spoiling of the Egyptians*, that could be no *theft*, considering the Egyptians owed them more, than they lent unto them, in recompence of the service they had done them, in the former times.

(6) But was the Sabbath broken or neglected onely on the Lords Commandement: in some especiall case, and extraordinary occasion? I thinke none will say it. Nay, was there ever any Sabbath, which was not broken publickly, by common appprobation, and of common course: Surely not one. In such a numerous Commonwealth as that of Iemry, it is not to be thought, that each day was fruitfull in the workes of men: when borne every Sabbath day, as well as others: and therefore to be circumcised on the same day also. And so they were continually, Sabbath by Sabbath, Feast by Feast, not one day free in all the yeare from that solemnite; and this by no especiall order and command from God, but merely to observe an ancient custome. In case it was deferred some time, as sometimes it was, it was not sure in conscience to observe the Sabbath; but onely on a tender care to preserve the Infant, which was perchance infirme and weake, not able to abide the torment. No question, but the Sabbath following the sacke of Hiericho, was in this kinde broken: and so were all that followed after *Natum enim Sabbathum preteribat, quin multi in Iudea infantes circumcidarentur.* It is *Calvins* note: Broken, I say, For Circumcision, though a Sacrament, was no such easie Ministerie, but that it did require much labour, and many hands to go through with it. *Buxdorfius* thus describes it in his *Synagoga. Tempore diei octavi matutino,*

In Job 7.21.

Lib 2.

tutino, eaque ad circumcisionem opus sunt tempestive parantur, &c. In the morning of the eighth day all things were made ready. And first two seats are placed, or else one so frained, that two may sit apart in it; adorned with costly Carpets answerable unto the qualitie of the partie. Then comes the suretie for the childe, and placeth himselfe in the same seat, and neare to him the Circumciser. Next followeth one bringing a great torch, in which were lighted twelve waxe-candles, to represent the twelve Tribes of Israel: after, two boyes carrying two cups full of red-wine, to wash the Circumcisers mouth when the worke is done; another bearing the Circumcisers knife; a third a dish of sand, wherinto the fore-skinne must be cast, being once cut off; a fourth, a dish of oyle wherein are linnen clouts to be applyed unto the wound: some others, spices and strong wines, to refresh those that faint, if any should. All this is necessarily required as preparations to the Act of Circumcision; nor is the Act lesse troublesome, then the preparations make shew of: which I would now describe, but that I am perswaded I have said enough, to make it knowne how much adoe was like to be used about it. And though perhaps some of these ceremonies were not used in this present tyme, whereof we speake: yet they grew up, and became ordinarie many of them, before the Jewish commonalty was destroyed and ruined. *οὐδὲ πειρατῶν, οὐδὲ σίδνεος, οὐδὲ αὐτοῖς, οὐδὲ ταῖς αἵρεσεσσι.* Where there is circumcision, there must be knives, and sponges to receive the bloud, and such other necessaries, said *Achanafius*. And not such other onely as concerne the worke, but such as apperteine also to the following cure. *Circumciditur & curatur homo circumcisus in Sabbatho*, as Saint Cyril notes it. Which argument our Saviour used in his owne defence, viz. that he as well might make a man every whit whole on the Sabbath day; as they, one part. Now that this *Act* of circumcision was a plaine breaking of the Sabbath (besides the trouble-

Hom. de Se-
mence.

In Job. 6.4. c 50:

1.b.7.

C H A P. 6. *The History of*

P A R T. I.

troublesomenesse of the worke) is affirmed by many of the Fathers. By *Epiphanius* expreſſly, *Τερρένες γὰς ταῦτα πολλάκις εἰς αὐτοὺς ἀναγέρεις αὐτοῖς τὰ πεπεινοῦσιντο.* If a childe was borne upon the Sabbath, the circumcision of that childe tooke away the Sabbath. And *Saint Chrysostome* ipeakes more home then he, τὸ μὲν γὰς αὐτοῖς, *εἰς τὸν πολλάκις, μᾶλλον δὲ αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ πεπεινοῦσι.* The Sabbath, saith the Father, was broke many wayes among the Jews; but in no one thing more, then in circumcision.

(7) Now what should move the Jews to preferre circumcision before the Sabbath, unleſle it were because that circumcision was the older ceremony, I would gladly learne: especially considering the reſemblance that was betweene them in all manner of circumstances. Was circumcision made to be a token of the Covenante betweene the Lord of heaven, and the seed of Abraham? *Genes. 17. 11.* So was the Sabbath betweene God and the house of Israel, *Exod. 31. 17.* Was circumcision a perpetuall covenant with the seed of Abraham in their generations? *Gen. 17. 7.* So was the Sabbath to be kept throughout their generations, for a perpetuall covenant also. *Exod. 31. 16.* Was circumcision so exacted, that whosoever was not circumcised, that soule should be cut off from the people of God? *Gen. 17. 14.* So God hath said it of his Sabbath, that whosoever breakes it, or doth any manner of worke therin, that soule shall be cut off from among the people. *Exod. 31. 14.* In all these points there was a just and plaine equalitie betweene them: but had the Sabbath beene a part of the Morall law, it must have infinitely gone before Circumcision. What then should move the Jewes to preferre the one before the other: but that conceiving both alike, they thought it best to give precedencie to the elder, and rather breake the Sabbath, then put of circumcision to a further day. Hence grew it into a common maxime amongst that people, *Circumcisio pellit Sabbathum*, that Circumcision drives away the Sabbath; as be-

the Sabbath.

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fore I noted. Nor could it be that they conceived a greater or more strict necessitie to be in circumcision, then in the Sabbath; the penaltie and danger, as before we shewed you, being alike in both: for in the Wildernesſe, by the space of 40. yeares together, when in ſome ſort they kept the Sabbath; moſt certaine that they circumcized not one, not one of many hundred thouſands that were borne in ſo long a time. Againe, had God intended Circumcision to have beene ſo necessarie, that there was no deferring of it for a day or two: he either had not made the Sabbaths rest ſo exact and rigid; or else out of that generall rule had made exception in this caſe. And on the other ſide, had he intended that the Sabbaths rest ſhould have beene literally obſerved, and that no manner of worke ſhould be done therein: he had not ſo precisely limited circumcision to the eight day onely, *καὶ ἦ ἡ ἡμέρα τῶν αὐτοῦ*, yea though it fell upon the Sabbath; but would have reſpited the ſame till another day. The Act of circumcision was not restrained unto the eight day ſo precisely, but that it might be, as it was ſometimes, deferred upon occaſion; as in the caſe of *Moses* children, and the whole people in the Wildernesſe, before remembred. Indeed it was not to be haſtened, and performed before. Not out of any mysterie in the number, which might adapt it for that buſineſſe, as ſome Rabbins thought; but because children till that time are hardly purged of that bloud and ſlime, which they bring with them into the world. Upon which ground the Lord appointed thus in the law *Levit. 22. v. 27.* *When a bullocke, or a ſheepe, or a goat is brought forth, it ſhall be ſeven daies under the damme: and from the eighth day, and thence-forth, it ſhall be accepted for an offering to the Lord.* This makes it manifest, that the Jewes thought the Sabbath to bee no part of the Morall law; and therefore gave precedencie to circumcision as the older ceremony: Not because it was of *Moses*, but of the Fathers; that is, ſaith *Cyrill* on that place, because they thought not fit to lay aside an ancient custome.

*Just. Mar. yn.
cont. Trypho.*

Levit. 22. v. 27.

L. 4. in lib. c. 49

custome of their ancestors, for the Sabbaths sake. *Quia non puerant consuetudinem patram propter honorem Sab. busi contemnendam esse;* as the Father hath it. Nay so farre did they prize the one before the other, that by this breaking of the Sabbath, they were perswaded verily that they kept the law. *Moses, saith Christ our Saviour, gave you circumcision, and you on the Sabbath day circumcisē a man, that the law of Moses should not be broken.* It leemeth that circumcision was much like *Terminus* and *Iuventus* in the *Romane* story, who would not stirre nor give the place, not to *Jove* himselfe. More of this point, see *Chrysost. hom. 49. in Job.*

Job. 7. 22.

Ios. 10. 13.

Cap. 46. 4.

2 King 20.

(8) But to proceed, the next great action that occurs in holy Scripture, reducible unto the businesse now in hand, is that famous miracle of the Sunne's standing still at the prayers of *Iosuah*: *when as the Sunne stood still in the middest of heaven, and hasted not to go downe about a whole day, as the text hath it.* Or as it is in *Ecclesiast.* *Did not the Sunne go backe by his meane, and was not one day as long as two?* The like, to take them both together in this place, was that great miracle of mercy shewed to *Hezekiah*, by bringing of the shadow ten degrees backward, by which it had gone downe in the diall of *Ahaz*. In each of these there was a signall alteration in the course of nature, and the succession of time: so notable, that it were very difficult to finde out the *seventh day* precisely from the worlds creation; or to proceed in that account since the late giving of the law. So that in this respect, the *Jews* must needs be at a losse in their calculation: and though they might hereafter set apart one day in seven, for rest and meditation; yet that this day so set apart, could be precisely the *seventh day* from the first creation, is not so easie to be proved. The Author of the *Practise of Piety*, as zealously as he pleads for the *morality* of the *sabbath*, confesseth, that in these regards the *sabbath* could not be observed, precisely, on the day appointed. And to speake properly, saith he, as we take a day for the distinction of

“ of time, called either a day naturall consisting of 24. hours, or a day artificiall, consisting of 12. hours from Sunne-rising to Sunne-setting: And withall consider the Sunne standing still at noone, the space of an whole day in the time of *Iosuah*; and the Sunne going backe ten degrees (viz. five hours which is almost halfe an artificiall day) in *Hezekiahs* time: the *Jewes* themselves could not keepe their *Sabbath*, on that precise and just distinction of time, called at the first, the *seventh day from the creation*. If so, if they observed it not at the punctuall time, according as the law commanded: it followeth then, on his confession, that from the time of *Iosuah*, till the destruction of the Temple, there was no *Sabbath* kept by the *Jewes* at all; because not on the day precisely, which the law appointed.

(9) This miracle, as it advantaged those of the house of *Israel* in the present slaughter of their enemies: so could it not but infinitely astonish all the *Canaanites*; and make them faint, and flie before the conquerours. Insomuch that in the compasse of five yeares, as *Josephus* tells us, there was not any left to make head against them. So that the victory being assured, and many of the Tribes invested in their new possessions: it pleased the *Congregation of Israel to come together at Shilo*, there to set up the *Tabernacle of the Congregation*. And they made choice thereof, as *Josephus* saith, because it seemed to be a very convenient place, by reason of the beauty of the place. Rather because it sorted best with *Iosuahs* liking, who being of the Tribe of *Ephraim*, within whose lot that Citie stood, was perhaps willing to conferre that honour on it. But whatsoever was the motive, here was the *Tabernacle* erected, and hitherto the Tribes resorted; and finally here the *legall ceremonies* were to take beginning: God having told them many times, these and these things ye are to do, when ye are come into the land that I shall give you. viz. *Levit. 14. and 23. Numb. 15. Deut. 12.* That *Golgal* was the standing lampe, and that the *Levites* there

Ios. 8. 1.

Antiqu. Jud. 1. 5. 6. 1.

there laid down the *Tabernacle*, as in a place of strength and safety; is plaine in Scripture: but that they there erected it, or performed any legall Ministry therein, hath no such evidence. Though God had brought them then into the Land of *Promise*, yet all this while they were unsettled. The Land was given after, when they had possession. So that the next *Sabbath* which ensued on the removall of the *Tabernacle unto Shilo*; was the first *Sabbath* which was celebrated with its Legall Ceremonies: and this was *Anno Mundi 2589*. In which if we consider alwell the toylesomenesse as multiplicity of the *Priestlike-offices*: wee shall soone see, that though the people rested then, yet the *Priest* worked hardest. First, for the *Loaves of Proposition*, or the *Show-bread*, however *Iosephus* tell us, that they were baked *in the morning*, the day before the *Sabbath*; and probably in his time it might be so: yet it is otherwise in the scripture. *The Kohathites*, saith the Text, were over the *Show-bread*, for to prepare it every *Sabbath*. These loaves were twelve in number, one for every *Tribes*, each of them two tenth *deales*, or halfe a peck; so the *Scriptures* say: every *Cake* square, ten hand-breadthes long, five square, and seven fingers high; so the *Rabbins* teach us. The kneading, baking, and disposing of these *Cakes* must require some labour. *Ωντες αγροτικα, εκει γει ταξιδιον, &c.* Where there is baking, saith the Father, then must be heating of the *Oven*, and carrying in of faggots, and whatsoever worke is necessary in the *Bakers* trade. Then for the *Sacrifices* of the day, the labour of the *Priest*, when it was left, was double what it was on the other dayes. *Ο γειτονες διατηρει επειρ εκεινη τη μερα ποτε.* as *Chrysostom* hath rightly noted. The *daily sacrifice* was of two lambs, the *supernumerary* of the *Sabbath* was two more. If the *New-moone* fell on the *Sabbath*, as it often did, there was besides these named already, an offering of two *Bullocks*, a *Ramme*, seven *Lambs*: and if that *New-moone* were the *Feast of Trumpets* also, as it sometimes was, there was a

Antiqu. Iudea. 3. c. 10.

I. Chron. 9.

Abibus. hom. de seminie.

Concio 1. de La. 2. a.

further offering of seven *Lambs*, one *Ramme*, one *Bullock*. And which is more, each of these had their severall *Meat-offerings*, and *Drink-offerings*, *Perfumes*, and *Frankincense*, proportionable to attend upon them. By that time all was done, so many beasts kill'd, skinned, washed, quartered, and made ready for the *Altar*; so many fires kindled, meate and drinke offerings in a readinesse; and the sweet *Odours* fitted for the worke in hand: no question but the *Priest* had small cause to boast himselfe of his *Sabbaths rest*; or to take joy in any thing but his larger tees, and that he had discharged his duty. As for the people though they might all partake of the *fruits* hereof: yet none but thoe that dwelt in *Shilo*, or neere unto it at the least, could behold the sight; or note what paines the *Priests* tooke for them, whilst they themselves sat still and stirred not. Had the Commandement beene *morall*, and every part thereof of the same condition: the *Priests* had never done so many manners of worke, as that day they did. However, as it was, our blessed Saviour did account these works of theirs, to be a publick prophanation of the *Sabbath day*. *Roade yee not in the Law*, saith hee, *how that upon the Sabbath dayes, the Priests in the Temple doe prophan the Sabbath?* yet hee declared withall that the *Priests* were blamelesse, in that they did it by direction from the God of Heaven. The *Sabbath* then was daily broken, but the *Priest* excusable. For Fathers that affirme the same, See *Justin Martyr dial. & qu. 27. ad Orthod.* *Epiphan. l. 1. har. 19. n. 5. Hierom. in Psal. 92. Athanas. de Sabb. & Circumcis. Austin. Qu. ex N. T. Test. 61. Isidore Pelasior. Epl. 72. l. 1. and divers others.*

(10) These were the Offices of the *Priest*, on the *Sabbath day*; and questionlesse they were sufficient to take up the time. Of any other *Sabbath* duties by them performed, at this present time, there is no *Constat* in the *Scripture*: no nor of any place, as yet, designed for the per-

Marth. 12. 5.

Levit. 10.10,11

performance of such other dutiēs, as some conceive to pertain unto the *Levites*. That they were scattered and dispersed over all the *Tribes*, is indeed most true. The Curse of *Jacob*, now was become a blessing to them. Forty eight Cities had they given them for their inheritance (whereof thirteen were proper onely to the *Priests*;) besides their severall sorts of *hites*, and what accrued unto them from the publick *Sacrifices*, to an infinite value. Yet was not this dispersion of the Tribe of *Levi*, in reference to any *Sabbath duties*, that so they might the better assist the people in the solemnities and sanctifying of that day. The Scripture telles us no such matter. The reasons manifested in the word were these two especially. First, that they might be neere at hand to instruct the people, and teach them *all the statutes, which the Lord had spoken by the hand of Moses*: as also to let them know the difference betweene the *holy and unholie, the uncleane and cleane*. Many particular things there were in the *Law Levitical*, touching pollutions, purifyings, and the like legall Ordinances, which were not necessary to be ordered by the *Priests* above, those that attended at the *Altar*, and were resorted too in most difficult cases: Therefore both for the peoples ease, and that the *Priests*, above, might not be troubled every day in matters of inferiour moment, the *Priests* and *Levites* were thus mingled amongst the *Tribes*. A second reason was, that there might be at well some nursery to train up the *Levites*, untill they were of age fit for the service of the *Tabernacle*; as also some retirement unto the which they might repaire, when by the Law they were dismissed from their attendance. The number of the *Tribe of Levi*, in the first generall muster of them, from a maneth old and upwards, was 22000. just: out of which number, all from 30 yeares of age to 50, being in all 8580 persons, were taken to attend the publicke Ministry. The residue with their wives and daughters, were to be severally disposed of in the Cities allotted

allotted to them: therein to rest themselves with their goods and cattaille, and do those other Offices above remembred. Which Offices as they were the works of every day: so if the people came unto them upon the *Sabbaths or New-moones*, as they did on both, to be instructed by them in particular cases of the Law; no doubt but they informed them answerably unto their knowledge. But this was but occasionall onely, no constant duty. Indeed it is conceived by Master *Samuel Purchas*, on the authority of *Cornelius Bertram*, almost as moderne as himselfe, *That the forty eight Cities of the Levites had their fit places for Assemblies; and that thence the Synagogues had their beginnings: which were it so, it would be no good argument, that in those places of Assemblies, the Priests and Levites publickly did expound the Law unto the people on the Sabbath dayes*, as after in the *Synagogues*. For where those Cities were but foure in every Tribe, one with another, the people must needs travaile further then six Furlongs, which was a *Sabbath dayes* journey of the largest measure, as before we noted; or else that nice restriction was not then in use. And were it that they tooke the paines to goe up unto them, yet were not those few Cities able to cōtain the multitudes. When *Ioab* not long after this, did muster *Israel* at the command of *David*; he found no fewer then thirteen hundred thousand fighting men. Suppose we then, that unto every one fighting man, there were three old men, women and children, fit to heare the Law, as no doubt there were. Put thele together, and it will amount in all to two and fifty hundred thousand. Now out of these set by foure hundred thousand for *Hierusalem*, and the service there; and then there will remayne one hundred thousand just, which must owe tuite and service every *Sabbath day*, to each severall City of the *Levites*. Too vast a number to be entertained, in any of their Cities; and much leſſe in their *Synagogues*, had each house beene one. So that wee

2. King 4.23.

Pilgr. I. 2.6.3.

2. Sam. 24.

may resolute for certain, that the dispersion of the Levites over all the Tribes, had no relation, hitherto, unto the reading of the Law, or any publick Sabbath duties.



C H A P. VII.

Touching the keeping of the SABBATH,
from the time of David to the
Maccabees.

(1) Particular necessities must give place to the Law of Nature. (2) That Davids flight from Saul was upon the Sabbath. (3) What David did being King of Israel, in ordering things about the Sabbath. (4) Elijahs flight upon the Sabbath; and what else hapned on the Sabbath, in Elijahs time. (5) The limitation of a Sabbaths dayes journey, not known amongst the Iewes, when Elisha lived. (6) The Lord becomes offended with the Iewish Sabbaths; and on what occasion. (7) The Sabbath entertained by the Samaritans; and their strange nicetie therein. (8) Whether the Sabbaths were observed during the Captivitie. (9) The speciall care of Nehemiah to reforme the Sabbath. (10) The weekly reading of the Law on the Sabbath dayes, began by Ezra. (11) No Synagogues nor weekly reading of the Law, during the Government of the Kings. (12) The Scribes and Doctours of the Law, impose new rigours on the people about their Sabbaths.

(1)

 Hus have wee traced the Sabbath from the Mount, to Silo, the space of forty five yeares or thereabouts, wherein it was observed sometimes, and sometimes broken: broken
K 2 by

by publick order from the Lord himselfe, and broken by the publick practice both of Priest and people. No precept in the *Decalogue* so controuled, and justled by the Legall Ceremonies, forced to give place to *Circumcision*, because the *younger*; and to the *Legall Sacrifices*, though it was their *Elders*. t and all this while, no blame or imputation to be laid on them, that so prophaned it. Men durst not thus have dallied with the other nine; no nor with this neither, had it been a part of the *Law of nature*. Yet had the *Sabbath* beene laid by in such cases onely, wherein the Lord had specially declared his will and pleasure, that these and these things should be done upon it, or preferred before it: there was lesse reason of complaint. But we shall see in that which followed, that the poore *Sabbath* was inforced to yeld up the place, even to the severall necessities and occasions of particular men: and that without Injunction or Command from the Court of Heaven. This further proves the fourth Commandement as farre as it concernes the time, one whole day of seven, to be no part nor parcell of the *Law of Nature*, for if it were the *Law of Nature*, it were not dispensable, no not in any exigent or distresse what ever. *Nulum periculum suadet, ut quia ad legem naturalem directe pertinet infringamus.* No daunger, saith a moderne Writer, is to occasion us to breake those bonds, wherewith wee are obliged by the *Law of Nature*. Nor is this onely Protestant Divinitie, for that *Præcepta decalogi omnino sint indispensabilia*, is a noted maxime of the Schoolmen. And yet it is not onely Schoole Divinitie, for the Fathers taught it. It is a principle of Saint *Austine*, *Nullud quod omnino non licet semper non licet; nec aliqua necessitate mitigatur, ut admissum non obfit: est enim semper illicitum, quod legibus, quia criminis nosum est, prohibetur.* That, saith the Father, which is unlawfull in it selfe, is unlawfull alwayes; nor is there any exigent or extremity, that can so excuse it, being done, but that it makes a man obnoxious unto Gods displeasure.

Ryuer. in Dua:

Aquinas 1.2e.
qu.100.art 9.Qu. ex N. Test.
61:

“ displeasure. For that is alwayes to be reckoned an unlawfull thing, which is forbidden by the Law because simply evill. So that in case this rule be true, as no doubt it is; and that the fourth Commandement prohibiting all manner of worke on the Sabbath day, as simply evill, be to be reckoned part of the *Morall Law*: they that transgresse this Law, in what case soever, are in the self-same state with those, who to preserve their lives or fortunes, renounce their Faith in God, and worship Idols: which no man ought to do, no though it were to gain the world. *For what will it profit a man to gain the world, and to lose his soule?*

(2) But sure the Jewes accounted not the *Sabbath* of so high a nature; as not to venture the transgressing of that *Law*, if occasion were. Whereof, or of the keeping it, we have no monument in Scripture, till we come to *David*. The residue of *Joshah*, and the Booke of *Judges*, give us nothing of it. Nor have wee much in the whole story of the *Kings*: but what we have wee shall present unto you in due place and order. And first for *David*, we reade in Scripture how he stod in feare of *Saul* his Master, how in the Festivall of the *New-moon* his place was empty, how *Saul* became offended at it, and publickly declared his malicious purpose, which in his heart he had before conceived against him. *On the next morning, Jonathan takes his bow and arrowes*, goes forth a shooting, takes a boy with him to bring back his arrowes: and by a signall formerly agreed between them, gives *David* notice that his Father did seeke his life. *David* on this makes haste, and came to *Nab* unto *Abimelech* the Priest; and being an hungry, desires some sustenance at his hands. The Priest not having ought else in readinesse, sets the *Shew-bread* before him, which was not lawfull for any man to eat, but the *Priest* alone. Now if we aske the Fathers of the *Christian Church*, what day this was, on which poore *David* fled from the face of *Saul*, they answere

Item de seminario.

swere that it was the Sabbath. Saint Athanasius doubt-
ingly, with a peradventure, οὐ εἰ οὐαὶ τῷ ιακού,
most likely that it was the Sabbath. His reason makes the
“ matter surer, than his resolution. The Jewes, saith hee,
“ upbraid our Saviour, that his Disciples plucked the
“ eares of Corne on the Sabbath day : to satisfie which
“ doubt, hee tells them what was done by David, on a
Sabbath also. οὐαὶ τῷ ιακού τῷ εὐημερεοῦ τοιούτῳ
εἰ οὐαὶ τῷ ιερούλευν. as that Father hath it. Saint Hierome
tells us that the day wheron he fled away from Saul, was
both a Sabbath and New-moone ; & ad sabbatis solennitate
rem accedebant neomeniarum dies. Indeed the story makes
it plaine, it could be no other. The Shew-bread was
changed every Sabbath, in the morning early: that which
was brought in new, not to be stirred off from the Table
till the Week was out: the other which was taken away,
being appropriated to the Priests, and to be eaten by
them onely. Being so stale before, wee may the easier
thinke it lay not long upon their hands: and had not Da-
vid come, as he did, that morning: & perhaps hee had not
found the Priest so well provided, in the afternoon. Had
David thought that breaking of the Sabbath in what case
soever, had been a sinne against the eternall Law of Na-
ture: he would, no doubt, have hid himselfe that day in
the field, by the stone Ezel, as he had done two dayes be-
fore; rather then to have run away, as well from God, as
from the King. Especially considering that on the Sab-
bath day hee might have lurked there with more safetie,
then before he did: none being permitted, as some say, by
the Law of God, to walke abroad that day, if occasion
were. Neither had David passed it over in so light a
manner, had he done contrary to the Law. That heart of
his which smote him for his murder and adultery, and for
his numbering of the people would sure have taken some
impression, upon the breaking of the Sabbath, had hee
conceived that Law to be like the rest. But David knew
of

of no such matter: neither did Jonathan, as it seemes. For
howsoever Davids fact might be excused by reason of the
imminent perill; yet surely Jonathans walking forth with
his bow and arrowes, was of a very different nature. Nor
did he doe it fearfully, and by way of stealth, as if he were
afraid to avow the action: but tooke his Page with him
to bring back his arrowes, and called aloud unto him to
doe thus and thus, according as he was directed; as if it
were his usuall custome. Jonathan might have thought
of some other way to give advertisement unto David,
of his Fathers anger: rather then by a publick breaking of
the Sabbath, to provoke the Lords. But then, as may from
hence be gathered, shooting and such like manlike exer-
cises, were not accounted things unlawfull on the Sab-
bath day.

(3) This act and flight of Davids from the face of
Saul, hapned in Tornietius computation, Anno 2974: and
forty six yeares after that, being 3020 of the Worlds
Creation, and the last yeaer of Davids life, hee made a
new division of the sonnes of Levi. For where the Le-
vites were appointed in the times before, to beare about
the Tabernacle, as occasion was: the Tabernacle now be-
ing fixed and settled in Hierusalem, there was no further
use of the Levites service, in that kind. Therefore King
David thought it good to set them to some new employ-
ments; and so he did: some of them to assist the Priests,
in the publick Ministry; some to be Overseers and Judges
of the people, some to be Porters also in the house of
God, and finally, some others to be singers to prayse the
Lord with instruments that he had made, with Harps, with
Viols and with Cymballs. Of these the most considerable
were the first and last. The first appointed to assist at the
daily Sacrifices: as also at the Offering of all burnt Offer-
ings unto the Lord, in the Sabbaths, in the moneths, and
at the appointed times according to the number and ac-
cording to their custome continually before the Lord. The
other were instructed in the songs of the Lord. The other

1. Chron 23. 4, 5

Vers. 31.

Chap. 25. 7.

Psal. 92.

Antiq. Iud. 1.7.
c. 10.2. Chron. 5. 12,
13.

chiefly which were made for the Sabbath dayes, and the other Festivals: and one hee made himselfe, of his owne enditing, entituled a Song or Psalme for the Sabbath day. *Calvin* upon the 92 Psalme is of opinion, that hee made many for that purpose; as no doubt hee did; and so he did for the Feasts also. *Josephus* tells us, that hee composed Odes and Hymnes to the prayse of God, as also that hee made divers kinds of instruments, and that hee taught the Levites to prayse Gods Name upon the Sabbath dayes, *καὶ τοῖς ἀναστοσέστι*, and the other Festivals: as well upon the Annually, as the weekly Sabbath. Where note, that in the distribution of the Levites into severall Offices, there was then no such Office thought of, as to be Readers of the Law; which prooves sufficiently that the Law was not yet read publickly unto the people on the Sabbath day. Nor did he onely appoint them their Songs and Instruments, but so exact and punctuall was hee, that he prescribed what habit they should weare, in the discharging of their Ministry, in singing prayses to the Lord; which was a white linnen rayment, such as the Surplice, now in use, in the Church of England. Also the Levites, saith the Text, which were the singers, being arrayed in white linnen, having Cymbals and Psalteries and Harps, stood at the East end of the Altar, &c. praying and thanking God, for his Grace and mercies. And this he did not by commandement from above, or any warrant but his own as we finde, and that he thought it fit, and decent. *David* the Prophet of the Lord knew well, what did belong to *David* the King of Israel, in ordering matters of the Church, and settling things about the Sabbath. Nor can it be but worth the notice, that the first King whom God raised up to be a nursing Father unto his Church, should exercise his regall power in dictating what hee would have done on the Sabbath day, in reference to Gods publick worship. As if in him, the Lord did meane to teach all others of the same condition, as no doubt he did, that it pertaines to them to vindicate the day of his publicke ser-

service, as well from superstitious fancies, as prophane contempts: and to take speciall order that his name be glorified, as well in the performances of the Priests, as the devotions of the people. This speciall care wee shall find verified in *Constantine*, the first Christian Emperour, of whom more hereafter in the next Booke, and third Chapter. Now what was there ordaincd by *David*, was afterwards confirmed by *Solomon* (wherof see 2. Chron. 8 14) Who as he built a Temple for Gods publick worship; for the New-moones, and weekly Sabbaths, and the solemn Feasts, as the Scripture tells us: so hee, or some of his Successours, built a faire seat within the Porch thereof, wherein the Kings did use to sit, both on the Sabbaths and the annuall Festivals. The Scripture calls it *tectum sabbati, the covert for the Sabbath*; that is, saith *Rabbi Solomon*, *locus quidam in portico templi gratiose cooperatus, in quo Rex sedebat die sabbati, & in magnis festivitatibus*, as before was laid. So that in this too, both were equall.

(4) From *David* passe wee to *Elijah*, from one great Prophet to another: both persecuted, and both faine to flie, and both to flie upon the Sabbath. *Elijah* had made havock of the Priests of *Baal*, and *Iezabel* sent a message to him, that hee should arme himselfe to expect the like. The Prophet warned hereof, arose, and being encouraged by an *Angell*, he did eat and drinke, and walked in the strength of that meat forty dayes & forty nights, untill he came to *Horeb* the Mount of God. What, walked he forty dayes and as many nights without rest, or ceasing? So it is resolved on. *Elijah* as we reade in *Damascen*, *εἰπον διὰ τοῦτος, ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ τὸ οὐδετεριας εἰ τοῖς* “*αὐτοῖς*”, disquieting himselfe not onely by continuall “fasting, but by his travailing on the Sabbath, even for “the space of forty dayes, *εἰπον τὸ αὐτοῦ*, did with- “out question breake the Sabbath: yet God who made “that Law was not at all offended with him, but rather “to reward his vertue, appeared to him in Mount *Ho- reb*.

2 Kings 16.

2. Kings 19. 8.

Deuide Oribod
1.4.c.24.

A. dæ qu. 122.
2.124.

reb. So Thomas Aquinas speaking of some men, in the olde Testament, *qui transgredientes observantiam sabbati, non peccabant*, who did transgress against the Sabbath, and yet did not sinne; makes instance of *Elijah*, and of his journey: wherein, saith he, it must needs be granted, *that hee did travaile on the Sabbath*. And where a question might be made, how possibly *Elijah*, could spend forty dayes and forty nights in so smal a journey: *Tostatus* makes reply, that hee went not directly forwards, but wanded up and downe, and from place to place; *ex timore & inquietudine mentis*, partly for feare of being found, and partly out of a disquieted and afflicted minde. Now whiles *Elijah* was in exile, Benhadad King of *Syria* invaded *Israel*, and incamped neare *Aphek*; where *Ahab* also followed him, and lare downe by him with his army. And, saith the Text, *they pitched one over against the other seven dayes*, and so it was that *in the seventh day the battaile was joyned, and the children of Israel slaine of the Syrians an hundred thousand footmen in one day*. Aske *Zanchius* what this seventh day was; and he will tell you plainly that it was the Sabbath. For shewing us that any servile works may be done lawfully on the Sabbath, if either charity, or unauoydable necessity doe so require: hee brings this History in, for the prooof thereof. And then he addes, *Illi die ipso sabbati, quia necessitas postulabat, pugnam cum hostibus commiserunt, &c.* The *Israelites*, saith he, fighting against their enemies on the Sabbath day, necessity inforcing them thereunto, prevailed against them with a great and mighty slaughter. Neither is he onely one that so conceived it. *Peter Martyr* saith as much, and collects from hence, *die sabbati militaria munia obijisse eos*, that military matters were performed on the Sabbath day. This field was fought, *Anno Mundi 3135*: and was eleven yeares after *Elijahs* flight.

(5) Proceed wee to *Elisha* next. Of whom though nothing berecorded that concerns this busynesse; yet on

In locum.

1. Kings 20. 29.

In 4 Mardas.

Lori. Com. 17.
d.2.

occasion of his piety and zeale to God, there is a passaige in the Scripture, which gives light unto it. The *Shunamite* having received a Child at *Elisha*'s hands, and finding that it was deceased, *called to her husband, and said, send with me I pray thee, one of the young men and one of the Asses, Vers. 23. for I will hast to the man of God, and come again*. And he said, *wherefore wilt thou goe to him to day? It is neither verse 21. New-moon, nor Sabbath day*. Had it beene either of the two, it seemes shee might have gone and sought out the Prophet: and more then so, shee used to doe it at those times, else what need the question? It was their custome, as before we noted, to travaile on the Sabbath dayes, and the other Festivals, to have some conference with the Levites, if occasion were; and to repaire unto the Prophets at the same times also, as well as any day what ever. *In illis diebus festis frequentius ibant ad Prophetas ad audiendum verbum Dei*, as *Lyra* hath it on the place. And this they did without regard unto that nicety of a Sabbath dayes journey; which came not up till long after: sure I am was not now in use. *Elisha*, at this time, was retired to *Carmel*, which from the *Shunamites* City was ten miles at leste: as is apparant both by *Adrichomius* Map of *Aser*, and all other Tables that I have met with. And so the limitation of 2000 foot, or 2000 Cubits, or the six Furlongs, at the most, which some require to be allotted for the utmost travaile on the Sabbath; is vanished suddenly into nothing. Nay, it is evident by the story that the journey was not very short: the woman calling to her servant to drive on, and go forwards, and not to slack his riding unlesse she bid him: Which needed not, in case the journey had not beene above sixe Furlongs. Neither New-moone nor Sabbath day. It seemes the times were both alike in this respect: the Prophets to be fought unto, and they to publish and make knowne the will of God, as well at one time, as the other. *Quasi Sabbatum & Calendae & qualis esset solennitatis, as Tostatus hath it. If so, if 1. Num 28. qu. 29. the New-moones, in this respect, were as soleinne as the week-*

Ezay 66 23.

In Ezech. 46.

Am 18.1.

In locum.

Amos 6.

Chap. 1.14.

weekly Sabbath: no question but the Annually Sabbaths were as solemn as also. And not in this respect alone, but in many others. Markets prohibited in the New-moons, as in the Sabbath; *When will the New-moone be gone, then we may sell our Corne?* in the eighth of Amos; the Sacrifices more in these than in the other, of which last we have spoke already. So when the Scriptures prophecied of those spirituall Feasts, which should be celebrated by Gods Saints, in the times to come: they specifie the New-moones as particularly, as they do the Sabbaths. From one New-moone to another, and from one Sabbath to another, shall all flesh come to worship before mee, saith the Lord. See the like Prophecie in Ezech. Ch. 46. Vers. 1,3. Upon which last Saint Hierome tells us, *Quod privilegium habet dies septimus in hebdomada, hoc habet privilegium mensis exordium*, the New-moones and the Sabbath have the like Prerogatives.

(6) Nay, when the Jewes began to set at naught the Lord, and to forget that God that brought them out of the Land of Egypt; when they began to loath his Sabbaths, and prophane his Festivals, as they did too often: the Lord expostulates the matter with them, as well for one as for the other. When they were weary of the New-moone, and wished it gone, that they might sell corn; and of the Sabbath, because it went not fast enough away, that they might set forth wheate to sale: the Lord objects against them, both the one and the other, by his Prophet Amos; that they preferred their profit, before his pleasure. *Et Dei solennitates turpis lucri gratia, in sua ventrent compendia*, as Saint Hierome hath it. When on the other side they did prophane his Sabbaths, and the holy Festivals with excessie and surfeiting, carowing wine in bowles, stretching themselves upon their couches, and oyning of themselves with the chiefe oyntments: the Lord made knowne unto them by his servant Esaias, how much he did dislike their courses. *The New-moones and Sabbaths, the calling of Assemblies I cannot away with;* it

is iniquity even the solemne meeting. It seemes they had exceedingly forgot themselves, when now their very Festivals were become a sinne. Nay, God goes further yet, *your New-moones and your appointed Feasts my soule hateth, they are a trouble to mee, I am weary to beare them.* Your New-moones, and your Feasts, saith God, are not mine. *Non enim meas sunt qua geritis*, they are no Feasts of mine, which you to abuse. How so? *Iudei enim neglegit spiritualibus negotijs quae pro anima salute agenda deus preceperebat, omnia legitima sabbati, ad ocium luxuriamque contulere.* So said Gaudentius Brixianus. The Jewes, saith he, neglecting those spirituall duties which God commanded on that day, abused the Sabbaths rest unto ease and luxury. For whereas being free from temporall cares, they ought to have employed that day to spirituall uses, and to have spent the same in modesty and temperance, *καὶ ἀπόδοτε θεῖον λόγον*, and in the repetition and commemoration of Gods holy Word: they on the other side did the contrary, *ραπτίσμενος, μεδιοντες, ρεποντες*, wasting the day in gluttony, and drunkennesse, and idle delicacies. How farre Saint Augustine, chargeth them with the self-same crimes, wee have seene before. Thus did the house of Israel rebell against the Lord, and prophane his Sabbaths. And therefore God did threaten them by the Prophet Hosea, that *hee would cause their mirth to cease, their Feast dayes, their New-moones and Sabbaths, and their solemne Festivals*: that so they might be punished in the want of that, which formerly they had abused.

(7) And so indeed he did, beginning first with those of the revolted Tribes, whom he gave over to the hand of Salmanassar the Affryian, by whom they were lead Captive unto parts unknowne, and never suffered to returne. Those which were planted in their places, as they desired in tract of time, to *know the manner of the God of the Land*: so for the better means to attaine that knowledge, they entertained the Pentateuch, or five Books of Moses; and

Chap. 1.14.

Sermo 12.

Cyrill. in Amos 8.

Hos. 2.15.

and with them, the Sabbath. They were beholding to the Lions which God sent amongst them. Otherwise they had never knowne the Sabbath, nor the Lord who made it. Themselues acknowledge this in an Epistle to *Antiochus Epiphanes*, when hee made havock of the Jewes. The Epistle thus. *Βασιλεῖ Αὐτῷ Χρήστῳ, &c.*

" To King *Antiochus Epiphanes*, the mighty God, the suggestion of the Sidonians that dwell at *Sichem*. Our Ancestors enforced by a continuall plague which destroyed their Country (this was the Lions before spoken of) and induced by an ancient superstition, *Ἐντοπίντων τελετὴν τὸν μεγάλον Ιερούσαλαμ τελετὴν τοῦ Ιερού*, tooke up a custome to observe that day as holy, which the Jewes call the Sabbath. So that it seemes by this Epistle that when the *Affyrian* sent backe one of the Priests of *Israel*, to teach this people what was the manner of the God of the Land; that at that time they did receive the Sabbath also: which was about the yeare of the Worlds Creation, 3315. The Priest so sent, is said to have been called *Dosithei*; and as the word is mollified in the *Greeke*, it is the same with *Dositheus*: who as hee taught these new *Samaritans*, the observation of the Sabbath; so as sometay, he mingled with the same, some neat deviles of his own. For whereas it is said in the Booke of *Exodus*, *Let no man go out of his place on the sabbath day*: this *Dositheus*, if at least this were hee, keeping the letter of the Text, did affirme and teach, that in what ever posture any man was found, *εἰ τῇ νύκτι τῇ σαββάτῳ*, in the beginning of the sabbath; in the self-same he was to be *νικητεύειν*, even until the evening. I say if this were hee, and as some say, because there was another *Dositheus*, a *Samaritan* too, that lived more neere unto the time of *Origen*, and is most like to be the man. However, we may take it for a *Samaritan* device, as indeed it was; though not so ancient as to take beginning with the first entertainment of the Sabbath, in that place and people.

(8) This

Joseph. Antig. li.
2.6.7.

orig. mel. &c.
261.4.

(8) This transportation of the ten Tribes, for their many sins, was a faire warning unto those of the house of *Israhel*, to turn unto the Lord, & amend their lives, & observe his *Sabbaths*: his *sabbata annorum*, *Sabbaths of years*, as wel as either his *weekly* or his *yearly Sabbaths*. The Jewes had been regardlesse of these all, & for neglect of all, God resolued to punish them. First, for the *weekly Sabbath*, that God avenged himselfe upon them for the breach thereof, is evident by that one place of *Nehemiah*. *Did not your Fathers thus*, saith he, *and our God brought this plague upon us, and upon our Citie?* yet yee increase the wrath upon *Israel*, in breaking the Sabbath. Next for the *Annual Sabbath*, God threatned that he would deprive them of them, by his Prophet *Hosea*; as before was said. And lastly, for his *Sabbaths of years*, they had been long neglected & almost forgotten; if observed at all. *Tornielius* finds three onely kept in all the Scripture. Nor are more specified in particular, but sure more were kept: the certain number of the which may easily be found by the proportion of the punishment. God tells them that they should remayn in bondage, *untill the land had enjoyed her Sabbath*: for so long as she lay desolate, shee kept sabbath, to fulfill threescore and ten yeares. So that as many yeares as they were in bondage, so many sabbaths of yeares they had neglected. Now from the yeare 2593 which was the seventh yeare after their possession of the Land of *Canaan*, unto the yeare 3450, which was the yeare of their Captivitie: there passed in all 857 yeares just; of which 122 were yeares *Sabbaticall*. By which account it is apparent, that they had kept in all that time, but fifty two *sabbaticall yeares*: and for the *seventy sabbaths of years* which they had neglected, God made himselfe amends, by laying desolate the whole Country, *seventy yeares together*, *till the earth had enjoyed her sabbaths*. Not that the earth lay still all that while, and was never tilled; for those that did remayne behinde, and inhabit there, must have meanes to live: but that the tillage was so little, and the crop

crop so small, the people being few in numbers; that in comparison of former times, it might seeme to rest. But whatsoever *Sabbaths* the earth enjoyed, the people kept not much themselves. The solemne Feasts of *Pentecost*, the *Passover*, and the *Feast of Tabernacles*, they could not celebrate at all, because they had no *Temple* to repaire unto: nor did they celebrate the *New-moones* and the *weekly sabbath*, as they ought to doe. *Non neomenie non sabbati exercere letitiam, nec omnes festivitatis quas uno nomine comprehendit*, as Saint Hierome hath it. For that they used to work on the *sabbath day*, both in the *Harvest* and the *Vintage*, during the *Capitvite*, we have just reason to suspect considering what great difficulty *Nehemiah* found to redresse those errours. So little had that people profited in the *schoole of Piety*: that though they felt Gods heavy anger for the breach thereof, yet could they hardly be induced to amend their follies.

In His 2.

EZ 23:4,5.

(9) But presently on their return from *Babylon*, they reared up the *Altar*, and kept the *Feast of Tabernacles*, and the *burnt offerings day by day*, and afterward the *continall burnt-offering*, both in the *New-moones*, and the *solemne Feast-dayes* that had beeene consecrate unto the *Lord*. This the first worke that was endevoured by the *Zorobabel*, and other *Rulers* of the *people*: and it was somewhat that they went so farre in the *reformation*, as to revive the *sabbaths* and the *publick Festivals*. I say the *sabbaths*, amongst others; for so *Josephus* doth expresse it, "They celebrated at that time, saith he, the *feast of Tabernacles*, according as their *Law-maker* had ordained: " and afterwards they offered *oblations* and *continuall sacrifices*, observing their *sabbaths*, and all holy *solemnities*. Yet they oblerved them not so truly, but that some evill customes which had crept amongst them, during the *Capitvite*, were as yet continued: *Markets* permitted on the *sabbath*, and the *publick Festivals*; *Burdens* brought in, and out; the *Vintage* no lesse followed on those dayes, than on any other. And so continued till the yeare

yeare 3610, which was some ninety yeares after they were returned from *Babel*: what time they celebrated that great *Feast of Tabernacles*; and *Ezra* publickly read the *Law* before all the *people*. Upon which *Act*, this good ensued, that both the *Priests* and *Princes*, and many others of the *people*, did enter covenant with the *Lord*, that *If the people of the Land brought ware, or any victuals, to sell them on the sabbath day, that wee would not buy it of them on the sabbath, or on the holy dayes*, and that we would leave the *seventh yeare free*, and the *exaction of every debt*. Where still observe, that they had no lesse care of the *annuall sabbaths*, yea, of the *sabbaths of yeares*, then of the *weekly*: and *marketting* not more restrained on the *weekly sabbaths*, then on the *Annuaill*. A covenant not so well performed, as it was agreed. For *Nehemiah* who was *principall* on the *peoples part*, being gone for *Babylon*; at his return, found all things contrary to what he looked for. *I saw*, saith hee, *in Iudah*, *them that trode Wine-presses on the sabbath*, and that brought in *sheaves*, and which laded *Asses* also with *Wine*, *Grapes*, and *Figges*, and brought them into *Hierusalem* on the *sabbath day*; and others, *men of Tyrus* that brought *fish* and *all manner of ware*, and sold it on the *sabbath* unto the *children of Iudah*: a most strange disorder. So generall was the crime become, that the *chiefe Rulers of the people* were most guilty of it. So that to rectifie this misrule, *Nehemiah* was not onely forced to shut up the *Gates*, upon the *Even* before the *sabbath*, yea, and to keepe them shut all the *sabbath day*; whereby the *Merchants* were compelled, to rest with their *commodities*, without the *walls*: but to use threatening words unto them, that if from that time forwards, they came with *Merchandise* on the *sabbath*, hee would forbear no longer, but lay hands upon them. A course not more severe, then necessary, as the *case* then stood. Nor had those *mischiefs* been redressed, being now countenanced by *custome*, and some *chiefe men* among the *people*: had they not met a man, both resolved and con-

Chap.13:15.

v.16.

constant; one that both knew his worke, and had a will to see it finished. This reformation of the sabbath, or rather of those foule abuses which had of late defiled it, and even made it despicable; is placed by *Torniellus*, *An. 3629*; which was above an hundred yeares after the restitution of this people to their Native Country. So difficult a thing it is to overcome an evill custome.

(10) Things ordered thus, and all those publick scandals being thus remooved: there followed a more strict obseruance of the Sabbath day, then ever had beekept before. The rather since about these times, began the reading of the *Law* in the *Congregation*. Not every seventh yeare onely, and on the Feast of *Tabernacles*, as before it was, or should have been at the least, by the law of *Moses*; but every sabbath day, and each solemnmeeting: nor onely in the *Temple* of *Hierusalem*, as it used to be; but in the Townes and principall places of each severall Tribe. *Ezra* first set this course on foot, a *Priest* by havig took great pains to seek out the *Law*, and other Oracles of God; digested and disposed them into that forme and method, in which we have them at this present. Of this see *Jren. 1.3.25*. *Tertullian de habitu mulierum*, *Clem. Alexandr. 1.1.* *Strom. Chrysost. hom. 8. ad Hebreos*, and divers others. This done, and all the people met together at the Feast of *Tabernacles*, *Anno 3610*, which was some ninety yeares after the returne from *Babylon*, as before was said: hee tooke that opportunity to make knowne the *Law* unto the people. For this cause he provided a *Pulpit of wood*, that so he might be heard the better: and round about him stood the *Priests*, and *Levites*, learned men; of purpose to expound the *Text*, and to give the sense thereof, that so the people might the better understand the reading. And this they did eight dayes together, from the first day untill the last, when the Feast was ended. Now in this *Act of Ezraes*, there was nothing common, nothing according to the custome of the for-

former times, neither in time, or place, or any other circumstance. For the time, although it was the *Feast of Tabernacles*, yet it was the *seventh yeare* as *Moses* ordered it: that yeare, which was the first of *Nehemiah*s coming unto *Hierusalem*, not being the *sabbaticall* yeare, but the third yeare after, as *Torniellus* doth compute it. Then for the place it should have beeene performed in the *Temple* onely, as both by *Moses* *Ordinance*, and *Isaiah*s practice, doth at large appeare: but now they did it in the street before the *Water-gates*, as the *Text* informes us. So for manner of the reading, it was not onely published, as it had beeene formerly, but expounded also. Whereof, as of a thing never knowne before, this reason is laid downe by *Torniellus*, *quod lingua Hebraica desierat jam vulgaris esse, Chaldaico seu Syriaco idiomate in ejus locum surrogato*, because the *Hebrew* tongue wherein the *Scriptures* were first written, was now growne strange unto the people; the *Chaldee* or the *Syriack* being generally received in the place thereof. And last of all, for the continuance of this exercise, it held out eight dayes, all the whole time the *Feast* continued: whereas it was appointed by the *Law of Moses*, that onely the first and last dayes of the *Feast of Tabernacles* should bee esteemed and solemnized, as *holy convocations* to the Lord their *God*. *Levit. 23. 35. & 36*. Here was a totall alteration of the *ancient* custome; and a faire overture to the *Priests*, who were then *Rulers* of the people to beginne a new: a faire instruction to them all, that reading of the *Law of God* was not confined to place, or time; but that all times, and places were alike to his *holy word*. Every *seventh day* as fit for so good a duty, as every *seventh yeare* was accounted in the former times: the *Villages* and *Townes* as capable of the *Word of God*, as was the great and glorious *Temple* of *Hierusalem*: and what prerogative had the *Feast of Tabernacles*, but that the *Word of God* might be as necessary to be heard on the other *Festivals*, as it was on that? The Law

law had first been given them on a *Sabbath day*, and therefore might be read unto them every *Sabbath day*. This might be pleaded in behalfe of this alteration, and that great change which followed after, in the *weekly Sabbath*; whereon the Law of God was not onely read unto the people, such of them as inhabited over all *Judea*; but publickly made knowne unto them, in all the Provinces and Townes abroad, where they had either *Synagogues* or habitations. God certainly had to disposed it, in his heavenly counsailes, that so his holy Word might be more generally knowne throughout the World; and a more easie way layed open, for the admittance and receipt of the *Messiah*, whom he meant to send: that so *Hierusalem* and the *Temple*, might by degrees be lesned in their reputation; and men might know that neither of them was the *only place, where they ought to worship*. This I am sure of, that by this breaking of the custome, although an institute of *Moses*, the Law was read more frequently, then in times of old: there being one other reading of it, publickly and before the people related in the thirteenth of *Nehemiah*, when it was neither *Feast of Tabernacles*, nor *Sabbaticall yeare*, for ought we finde in holy Scripture. Therefore most like it is that it was the *Sabbath*, which, much about those times, beganne to be ennobled with the constant reading of the Word in the *Congregation*. First in *Hierusalem*, and after by degrees, in most places else, as men could fit themselves with convenient *Synagogues*, houses selected forthat purpose, to heare the Word of God, and observe the same. Of which times, & of none before, those passages of *Philo* & *Josephus* before remembred, touching the *weekly reading* of the Law, and the behaviour of the people in the publick places of assemblies; are to be understood and verified, as there we noted.

(11) For that there was no *Synagogue* nor *weekly reading* of the *Law*, before these times; (beside what hath been said already) we will now make manifest. No *Synagogue* before these times, for there is neither mention of

of them in all the body of the old Testament; nor any use of them in those dayes, wherein there were no *Congregations* in particular places. And first there is no mention of them in the old Testament. For where it is supposed by some, that there were *Synagogues* in the time of *David*; and for the prooфе thereof they produce these words, *they have burnt up all the Synagogues of God in the Land*: the supposition and the prooфе are alike infirme. For not to quarrell the Translation, which is directly different from the Greek, and vulgar Latine, and somewhat from the former *English*: this *Psalme*, if writ by *David*, was not composed in reference to any present misery which befell the *Church*. There had been no such havock made thereto in all *David's time*, as is there complained of. Therefore if *David* writ that *Psalme*, hee writ it as inspired with the spirit of prophecy, and in the spirit of prophecy did reflect on those wretched times, wherein *Antiochus* laid waste the *Church of God*, and ransacked his inheritance. To those most probably must it be referred: the miseries which are there bemoned, not being so exactly true in any other time of trouble, as it was in this. *Magis probabilis est conjectura, ad tempus Antiochii referri has querimonias*, as *Calvin* notes it. And secondly, there was no use of them before, because no reading of the *Law* in the *Congregation*, of ordinary course, and on the *Sabbath dayes*. For had the *Law* been reade unto the people every *Sabbath day*, wee either should have found some Commandement for it, or some practice of it: but we meet with neither. Rather we find strong arguments to perswade the contrary. We read it of *Jehosaphat*, that in the third yeere of his reigne he sent his *Princes*, *Ben-hail*, and *Obadiah*, and *Zechariah*, and *Nathaneel*, and *Micaiah*, to teach in the *Cities of Judah*. These were the principall in *Commission*; and unto them he joyned nine *Levites*, and two *Priests* to beare them company; & to assist them. It followeth, *And they taught in Judah, and had the book of the Law of the Lord with them, and they went about through-* *In Psal.74.4.* *2. Chron.17.7.* *verse 9.*

2.Kings 22.

Verse 11.

Chap. 23. 1,2.

throughout all the Cities of Iudah, and taught the people. And they taught in Iudah, and had the Booke of the Law with them? This must needs be an needless labour, in case the people had beeene taught every Sabbath day: or that the Book of the Law had as then been extant, and extant must it be, if it had beeene read) in every Towne and Village over all Iudah. Therefore there was no Synagogue, no reading of the Law every Sabbath day, in Iesophas time. But that which followes of Iosah, is more full then this. That godly Prince intended to repaire the Temple, and in pursuite of that intendment, Hilkiah the Priest, to whom the ordering of the work had been committed; found hidden an old Copy of the Law of God, which had been given unto them by the hand of Moses. This Booke is brought unto the King, and read unto him; *And when the King had heard the words of the Law, hee rent his clothes.* And not so onely, but hee gathered together all the Elders of Iudah and Hierusalem, and read in their eares all the words of the Book of the Covenant, which was found in the house of the Lord. Had it beeene formerly the custome, to reade the Law each Sabbath unto all the people: it is not to be thought that this good King Iosah, could possibly have beeene such a stranger to the Law of God; or (that the finding of the Booke had beeene related for so strange an accident, when there was scarce a Towne in Iudah, but was furnished with them. Or what need such a suddain calling of all the Elders, and on an extraordinary time, to heare the Law; if they had heard it every Sabbath, and that of ordinary course? Nay, so farre were they at this time, from having the Law read amongst them every weekly Sabbath, that as it seemes, it was not read amongst them in the Sabbath of yeares, as Moses had before appointed. For if it had been read unto them once in seven yeares onely; that vertuous Prince had not so soone forgotten the contents thereof. Therefore there was no synagogue, no weekly reading of the Law, in Iosahs dayes. And if not then, and not be-

before, then not at all till Ezra's time. The finding of the booke of God before remembred, is said to happen in the yeare 342. of the worlds creation: not forty yeares before the people were led Captives into Babylon; in which short space, the Princes being carelesse, and the times distractred, there could be nothing done that concern'd this busynesse. Now from this reading of the Law in the time of Ezra, unto the Councell holden in Hierusalem, there pasted 490. yeares, or thereabouts. Antiquitie sufficient to give just caute to the Apostle, there to affirme, that Moses in old time in every Citie had them that preached him, being read in the Synagogues every Sabbath day. So that we may conclude for certaine, that till these times wherein we are, there was no reading of the Law unto the people on the Sabbath dayes: and in these times, when it was taken up amongst them, it was by Ecclesiasticall institution onely, no divine authoritie.

Act. 15. 21.

(12) But being taken up, on what ground soever, it did continue afterwards, though perhaps sometimes interrupted, until the final dissolution of that Church and State: and therewithall grew up a libertie of interpretation of the holy words, which did at last divide the people into sects and factions. Petrus Cuneus doth affirme, that howsover the Law was read amongst them in the former times, either in publike or in private; yet the bare text was onely read, without glossie or descant. *Interpretatio magistrorum, commentatio nulla.* But in the second Temple, when there were no Prophets, then did the Scribes and Doctors begin to comment, and make their severali expositions on the holy Text: *Ex quo natae disputationes & sententie contraria;* from whence, saith he, sprung up debates, and doubtfull disputations. Most probable it is, that from this liberty of interpretation, sprung up diversity of judgements, from whence arose the severall sects of Pharisees, Essees, and Sadduces, who by their difference of opinions did distract the multitude, and

Derepubl. 1.2.
ca. 17.

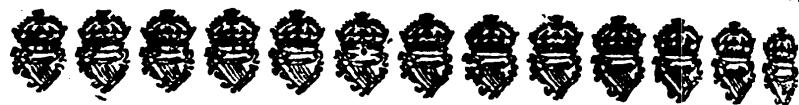
condemne

condemne each other. Of whom, and what they taught about the Sabbath, we shall see next Chapter. Nor is it to be doubted, but as the reading of the Law, did make the people more obseruant of the Sabbath, then they were before: so that *libertas prophetandi*, which they had amongst them, occasioned many of those rigours, which were brought in after. The people had before neglected the sabbaticall yeares, but now they carefully observed them. So carefully that when *Alexander the Great* being in *Jerusalem*, anno 3721, commanded them to aske some boone, wherein he might expresse his favour and love unto them: the *high Priest* answered for them all, that they desired but leave to exercise the ordinances of their fore-fathers, *καὶ τὸ ἔθνος ἔλος ἀνείσθετο*, and that each *seventh yeare* might be free from tribute; because their lands lay then untilled. But then againe, the libertie and varietie of *interpretation*, bredde no little milchiefe. For where in former times, according to Gods owne appointment, the Sabbath was conceived to be a *day of rest*, whereon both man and beast might refresh themselues, and be the more inable for their ordinary labours: by canvassing some *Texts of Scripture*, and wringing bloud from thence instead of comfort, they made the Sabbath such an *yoke*, as was insupportable. Nor were these weeds of doctrine very long in growing. Within an hundred yeares, and leſſe, after *Nehemiah*, the people were ſo farre from working on the Sabbath day; (as in his time we ſee they did, and hardly could be weaned from ſo great a ſinne:) but thought it utterly unlawfull to take ſword in hand, yea though it were to ſave their libertie, and defend Religion. A follie, which their neighbour *Ptolemy*, the great King of *Egypt*, made especiall uſe of. For having notice of this humour, " as it was no better, he entered the Citie on the Sabbath day, under pretence to offer ſacrifice; and preſently without resistance ſurprized the ſame: the people,

Joseph. Ant li.
31.6.1. Mr.

Joseph. Ant. 51.
12.6.1.

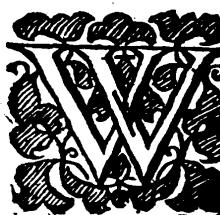
" *πλεῖστα λαθεῖν & δηλαπίτες*, not laying hand on any weapon, or doing any thing in defence thereof; but ſitting ſtill, *εἰ παύειν καὶ αἴρει* in an idle ſlothfulneſſe, ſuffered themſelues to be subdued by a Tyrant Conquerour. This happened Ann. M. 3730. And many more ſuch fruits of ſo bad a doctrine, did there happen afterwards: to which now wee haſten.



CHAP. VIII.

What doth occurre about the Sabbath from
the Maccabees, to the destruction of
the Temple.

(1) The Iews refuse to fight in their owne defence upon the Sabbath; and what was ordered therupon. (2) The Pharisees, about these times, had made the Sabbath burdensome by their Traditions. (3) Hierusalem twice taken by the Romans, on the Sabbath day. (4) The Romans, many of them, Iudaize, and take up the Sabbath: as other Nations did by the Iews example. (5) Augustus Caesar very grataous to the Iews, in matters that concerned their Sabbath. (6) What our Redeemer taught, and did, to rectifie the abuses of, and in the Sabbath. (7) The finall ruine of the Temple, and the Iewish ceremonies on a Sabbath day. (8) The Sabbath abrogated with the other Ceremonies. (9) Wherein consists the Christian Sabbath, mentioned in the Scriptures and amongst the Fathers. (10) The idle and ridiculous niceties of the moderne Iews, in their Paracleses, and their Sabbaths conclude the first part.



(1)

Ee shewed you in the former Chapter, how strange an alteration had beene made in an hundred yeares, touching the keeping of the Sabbath. The people hardly at the first restrained from working, when there was no need; and after easily induced

induced to abstaine from fighting, though tending to the necessary defence both of their libertie and Religion. Of so much swifter growth is superstition, then true pietie. Nor was this onely for a fit, as easily layed aside, as taken up; but it continued a long time, yea and was every day improved: it being judged, at last, unlawfull to defend themselves, in case they were assaulted on the Sabbath day. *Antiochus Epiphanes* the great King of *Syria*, intending utterly to subvert the Church and Commonwealth of *Judah*, did not alone defile the *Sanctuary*, by shedding innocent bloud therein: but absolutely prohibited the burnt-offerings and the sacrifices, commanding also that they should prophane the *Sabbaths*, and the festi-vall dayes. So that the *Sanctuary* was layed waste, the *holy* dayes turned into mourning, and the *Sabbath* into a reproach, as the story tells us: some of the people so farre yeelding through feare and faintnesse, that they both offered unto Idols, and prophaned the *Sabbaths*, as the King commanded. But others, who preferr'd their pietie, before their fortunes, went downe into the *wildernes*, and there hid themselves in caves and other secret places. Thither the enemies pursued them, and finding where they were in covert, assayled them on the Sabbath day, the Iews not making any the least resistance, no not so much as stopping up the mouthes of the Caves, *καὶ εὐργοῖς ἀργεῖσαι τῷ τε κατέστρε πολὺ τελέτας*, as men resolved not to offend against the honour of the Sabbath, in what extremitie soever. These men were certainly more periwaded of the *moralitie* of the *Sabbath*, then *David* or *Elijah* in the former times: and being so periwaded, thought it not fit to flie or fight upon that day; no, though the supreme *law of nature*, which was the saving of their lives did call them to it. *Tantum religio petuit suadere malorum*, in the Poets language. But *Iatathias*, one of the *Priests*, a man that durst as much as any in the cause of God, and had not beeene infected with those dangerous fancies; taught those that were about him

10 Sept. li, 12.
ca 8.

2. *Macc. 2.*

him a more saving doctrine: Assuring them that they were bound to fight upon the *Sabbath*, if they were assaulted. For otherwise, if that they scrupulously observed the law, in such necessities: *εἰν τοῖς ἔποις ταύταις πολέμουσι*, they would be enemies to themselves, and finally be destroyed both they and their Religion. It was concluded there-upon, that *whosoever came to make battell with them on the Sabbath day, they would fight against him*: and afterwards it held for currant, as *Josephus* tells us, that if necessarie required they made no scruple, *ταχέως μαχεσθαι*, to fight against their enemies on the *Sabbath day*. Yet by *Josephus* leave, it held not long, as he himselfe shall tell us in another place: what time, the purpose of this resolution was perverted quite, by the nice vanities of those men, who tooke upon them to declare the meaning of it. But howsoever it was with those of *Iewrie*, such of their Countrymen as dwelt abroad amongst other Nations, made no such scruple of the *Sabbath*, but that they were prepared, if occasion were, as well to bid the battell, as to expect it: as may appeare by this short story, which I shall here present in briefe, leaving the Reader to *Josephus* for the whole at large. Two brethren, *Asinæus*, and *Anilæus*, borne in *Nearda*, in the territory of *Babylon*, began to fortifie themselves, and commit great outrages: which knowne, the Governour of *Babylon* prepares his forces to suppresse them. Having drawne up his Army, he layes in ambush neere a marish: and the next day, which was the *Sabbath*, (wherein the *Iews* did use to rest from all manner of worke) making account that without stroke stricken, they would yeeld themselves, he marched against them faire and softly, to come upon them unawares. But being discovered by the scouts of *Asinæus*, it was resolved amongst them to be farre more safe, valiantly to behaue themselves in that necessarie, yea though it were a breaking of the very Law; then to submit themselves, and make proud the enemy. Whereupon all of them at once marched forth, and slaughtered a great many

many of the enemies; the residue being constrained to save themselves by a speedy flight. The like did *Anilæus*, after; being provoked by *Mithridates*, another Chieftaine of those parts. This happened much about the yeare 3957. that of the *Maccabees* before remembred, Ann. 3887. or thereabouts. Happy it was these brethren lived not in *India*; for had they done so there, the *Scribes* and *Pharisees* would have tooke an order with them, and cast them out of the *Synagogues*, if not used them worse.

(2) For by this time those Sects which before wee spake of, began to shew themselves, and disperse their doctrines. *Josephus* speakes not of them till the time of *Jonathan*, who entred on the Government of the *Jewish* Nation, Ann. 3894. Questionlesse they were knowne and followed in the former times; though probablie not so much in credit, their dictates not so much adored, as in the ages that came after. Of those the *Pharisees* were of most authoritie, being most active in their courses, levere professours of the Law, and such as by a seeming sanctitie had gained exceedingly on the affections of the common people. The *Sadduces* were of lesse repute, (though other wise they had their dependants) as men that questioned some of the common principles: denying the resurrection of the dead, the hope of immortalitie. As for the *Esses* or *Essens*, they were a kinde of *Monkish* men, retyred and private; of farre more honestie then the *Pharisees*, but of farre lesse cunning: therefore their ten-dries not so generally received, or hearkened after, as the others were. In matters of the *Sabbath* they were strict alike; but with some difference in the points wherein their strictnesse did consist. In this the *Esses* seemes to go beyond the *Pharisee*, that they not onely did abstaine from dressing meat, and kindling fire upon the *Sabbath*, as probably the others did: *εν ταῖς ταύταις πολέμουσιν*, *ταῦτα διατάσσεται*. But unto them it was unlawfull to remove a dish or any other vessele out of the place, where-

Joseph. de b. 2. li. 2. 7.

Exod. 16.

Ad Algasium.

in they found it, yea or to go aside to ease nature. And on the other side, the *Pharisee* in the multiplicities of his *Sabbath*-speculations, went beyond the *Essene*: all which were thrust upon the people, as prescribed by God, and grounded in his holy Law; the perfect keeping of the which seemed their utmost industry. There is a dictate in the Scripture, that *None go out of his place on the Sabbath day*. This was impossible to be kept, according to the words and letter: therefore there must be some device to expound this Text, and make the matter feasible. Hereupon *Achiba*, *Simeon*, and *Hillel*, three principall *Rabbins* of these times, found out a shift to satisfie the Text, and yet not binde the people to impossible burdens. This was to limit out the *Sabbath's journey*, allowing them 2000. foot to stirre up and downe, for the eale and comfort of the body: by which devise they thought the matter well made up, the people happily contented, and the Law obserued. This was the refuge of the few, when afterwards the *Christians* pressed them with the not keeping of this Text, *R. e Achiba, Simeon, & Hillel magistri nostri eradicerunt nobis, ut bis mille pedes ambularemus in sabbato*, as Saint *Hicrome* tells us. But this being somewhat of the least, they afterwards improved it to 2000. Cubits, then to three quarters of a myle, as before we noted: and this, with this inlargement too, that in their Townes and Cities they might walke as much and as farre as they listed, though as bigge as Nineveh. This *Rab. Hillel* above named, lived in the yeare 3928. which was some fifteene yeares after *Jonathans* death: and therefore to be reckoned of these times in the which we are. The other two, for ought we know, were his *Coetanei*, and lived about the same times also. So for the other Text, *Thou shalt not kindle fire on the Sabbath day*, this also must be literally understood: and then comparing this with that in *Exodus*, *Bake that which ye will bake to day*; it needs must follow that no meat must be made ready on the *Sabbath*. We shewed before, that generall

PART. I

the Sabbath.

Ch. 17.v.??

ruled by *Mattathias*, and that it was concluded lawfull to fight against their enemies on the *Sabbath day*; yet they found out a way to elude this order: teaching the people this, that they might fight that day against their enemies, if they were assaulted; but not molest them in their preparations, for assault and batterie. This is now made the meaning of the former law, and this cost them deare. As good no Law at all, as so bad a Comment.

(3) For when that *Pompey* warred against them, and besieged their *Temple*, hee quickly found on what foot they halted; and did accordingly make use of the occasions, which they gave unto him. Had not the *Ordinance of the Country*, as *Josephus* tells it, commanded us to keepe the *Sabbath*, and do no labour on that day: the *Romans* never had been able to have raised their Bulwarks. How so? *Ἄρχοντες γάρ οὐχὶ καὶ πολεμούσται αὐτοῖς νόστον ὁ βουλος, αὐτὸν δὲ οὐ πολεμούσται τὸν πολεμούσιν*. Because the Law permits us to defend our selves, in case at any time we are assailed, and urged to fight; but not to set upon them or disturbe them, when they have other worke in hand. Which when the *Romans* found, saith he, they neither gave assault, or proferd any skirmish on the *Sabbath dayes*, but built their Towers and Bulwarks, and planted Engines thereupon: and the next day put them in use against the *Jewes*. It seemes they were not well resolued on the former point, whether they might defend themselves on the *Sabbath day*, though they were assaulted. For on that day it was, that *Pompey* tooke the *City*, and enslaved the people. So *Dio* tells us touching the use the *Romans* made of that advantage; addes for the close of all, *εἰς τὴν Κερκύραν οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς πολεμούσοις*, that at the last they were surprised upon the *Saturday*, not doing any thing in their owne defence. *Strabo* therein concurses with *Dio*, in making *Saturday* the day, but takes it for a solemn fast, *εἰς τὴν θυσίαν ηγέρα*, wherin it is not lawfull to do any worke. And so it was a *Fast* indeed, but

Antiq. Ind. I.
14. c. 8. .

Hist. 156.

Geogr. 1. 6.

such a *Fast* as fell that time upon the *Sabbath*. *Josephus* tells us onely that the *Temple* was taken in the third moneth, on a fasting day: which *Cajabon* conceives to be the seventh, and *Scaliger* the seventeenth of the moneth called *Tamur*; but both agree upon it, that it was the *Sabbath*. As for their fasting on that day, it was permitted in this case, and in this case onely, when as their *City* was besieged; as before wee shewed. Yet could not this unfortunate rigour be any warning to the *Jewes*; but needs they must offend again in the self-same kind. For just upon the same day seven and twenty yeares, the *City* was againe brought under by *Sosius* and *Herod*, who had then besieged it: in the same moneth, and on the same day, as *Josephus* tells it; *εἰς τὴν Κερκύραν αὐτοῖς πολεμούσοις*, and on the day called *Saturday*, as *Dion* hath it. So fatall was it to the *Jewes*, to perish in the folly of their superstitions. The first of these two actions, is placed in *Anno 399*. therefore the last, being just 27 years after, must be 4018 of the Worlds Creation, *Augustus Caesar* being then in the *Triumvirate*.

(4) By means of these two victories, the *Jewes* being tributary to the *Romans*, began to finde admittance into their Dominions; in many places of the which they began to plant, and filled at last whole Townships with their numerous Families. Scarce any *City* of good note in *Syria*, and the *lesser Asia*; wherein the *Jewes* were not considerable for their numbers; and in the which, they had not *Synagogues* for their devotions. So that the manner of their lives, and formes of their Religion being once observed: the *Roman* people, many of them, became affected to the rites of the *Jewish* worship, and amongst other Ceremonies, to the *Sabbath* also. It was the custome of the *Romans* to incorporate all Religions into their own; and worship thole Gods whom before they conquered: *Et quos post cladem triumphatos colere cuperunt*, in *Minutius* words. Therefore the marveile is the lesse, that they were fond of somthing in the *Jews* religion; thongh of all others they most hated that, as most

Exerc. 16. 108.
Em. Temp. edit.
2. 1. 3.

L. 14. c. 24.
149.

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SJuvenal.
at. 14.

repugnant to their own. Yet many of them out of wantonnesse, and a love to novelties, began to stand upon the Sabbath; some would be also circumcised; and abstaine from Swines flesh; others use Candlesticks and Tapers, as they saw the Jewes. The Saracift thus scoffs them for it.

*Quidam fortitatem suam Sabbathum patrem,
Nil prater nubes & caeli numen adorant,
Nec distare putant humana carne suillam,
Qua pater abstinuit: mox & proprie-
tatem ponunt.*

Some following him, the Sabbaths who devised,
Onely the Clouds and Skie, for Gods adore;
Hating Swines flesh, as they did mans before
Caule he forbare it; and are circumcised.

epist. 95.

Rubell. 26.

Remember Persius taunte them with their Sabbath *recutita*, as before wee noted. Now as the Poet did upbraid them with *Circumcision*, and forbearing Swines flesh: so *Seneca* derides them for the Sabbaths, and their burning Tapers on the same, as a thing unnecessary; neither the Gods being destitute of light, nor mortall men in love with smoke: *Accendere aliquam lucernam sabbatu-
precipiamus, quoniam nec lumine discent, & ne homines
quidem delectantur fuligine.* Nay, some of them bewaile the same, and wish their Empire never had extended so farre as Ieremie, that so the Romans might not have beeene acquainted with these superstitions of their Sabbaths.

*O utinam nunquam Iudea subacta fuisset
Pompeii belis, Imperioque Tici.
Latini excisa gentis contagia serpuit,
Victoresque suos natio vieta premis.*

O would Iudea never had beene wonne
By Pompeys armies, or Vespasians sonne.

Their

Their superstition spreads it selfe so farre,
That they give Lawes unto the Conquerour.

Nor were the Sabbaths entertaind onely in *Rome* it selfe. Some, in almost all places of their Empire, were that way inclined; as *Seneca* most rightly noted. *Eo us-
que sceleratissima gentis consuetudo invaluist, ut per omnes
jam terras recepta sit, & vitti vitoribus leges dederunt.* Saint *Augustine* so reports him in his sixt Book *de civita-
te.* And this is that, which *Philo* meanes when as hee calls the Sabbath *εορτη πανηγυρος*, the generall Festivall of all people: when hee sets up this challenge against all the World, *πις γαρ εκεινον & ιερον & επικλευταν & επιτελιναν*; &c. *De vita Mo-
ise. l. 2.*

“ What man is there in all the World, who doth not reverence this our holy Sabbath, which bringeth rest & and ease to all sorts of Men, Masters and Servants, “ bond and free, yea, to the very bruite beasts also. Not that they knew the Sabbath by the *light of nature*, or had observed the same in all ages past; but that they had admitted it in *Philo's* time, as a *Jewish* ceremony. For let *Iosephus* be the Comment upon *Philo's* Text, and he will thus unfold his meaning. The Lawes, saith hee, establisched amongst us, have beene imitated of all other Nations: *ιερα επιτελιναν πανηγυρος ηδη πολις ζηλος γιγενερ ει μεταφερει η ιερεις ευρεταις.* Yea, and the common people did long since imitate our piety. Neither is there any Nation on Greek or Barbarous, to which our use of resting on the seventh day hath not spread it selfe: who also keep not Fasting dayes, and Lamps with lights; and many of those Ordinances about meates and drinke, which are enjoynd us by the Law. So farre *Iosephus*.

(5) These Romans, and what other Nations they were soever which did thus *Indiaize* about the Sabbath: were many of them *Proselytes*, of the *Jewes*, such as had been admitted into that Religion: for it appeares that they did also worship the God of Heaven, and were circumci-

M 2

cumci-

Cap. 15.
De mund. opif.De vita Mo-
ise. l. 2.

L. 2. cont. apion

circumcised, and abstained from Swines flesh. Otherwile we may well beleeve that of their own accord they had not bound themselues so generally to obserue the Sabbath, being no parts nor members of the Jewish state: considering that such strangers as lived amongst them, not being circumcised nor within the Covenant, were not obliged so to do. *Tostatus* tells us of two sorts of strangers amongst the Jews. The first, *qui adveniebat de Gentilitate & convertebatur ad Iudaismum, &c.* who being originally of the Gentiles had been converted to the religion of the Jews, and was circumcised, and lived amongst them: and such were bound, saith he, to obserue the Sabbath, & omnes observantias legis, and all other rites of the Law of Moses. This is evident by that in the twelfth of Exodus, where it is laid, that *every man-servant bought with money*, when he was circumcised should eat the passe-over: but that *the forreigner and hired servant* (conceive it not being circumcised) might not eat thereof. The other sort of strangers, were such as lived amongst them onely for a certain time, to trade and traffique or upon any other businesse of what sort soever. And they, saith he, were not obliged by the Commandement to keepe the Sabbath, *quia non poterant cogi ad aliquam observantiam legalem, nisi vellent accipere circumcisionem*: because they could not be constrained to any legall ordnance, except they would be circumcised, which was the doore unto the rest. Finally, he resolues it thus, that by the stranger within their gates, which by the Law were bound to obserue the Sabbath, were onely meant such strangers de gentilitate ad Iudaismum conversi, which had renounced their Gentilisme, and embrased the Religion of the Jews. And he resolued it so, no doubt, according to the practice of the Jews, amongst whom he lived; and to the doctrine of their Rabbins, amongst whose writings he was very conversant. *Lyra* himselfe a Jew, and therefore one who knew their customes as wel as any, doth affirme as much, and

and tells us that the stranger, in the Law intended, *Gentilis est conversus ad ritum Iudeorum*, is such a stranger as had been converted to the Jewish Church. And this may yet appeare, in part, by the present practice of that people, who though themselves milke not their Kine on the Sabbath day, *permisum est & iis ut die Sabbathino dicant Christiano, &c.* Yet they may give a Christian leave to performe that office; and then to buy the milke of him for a toy, or trifle. Adde here what formerly we noted of their Servants. Of whom wee told you out of *Rabbi Maimony*, that if they were not circumcised or baptiz'd, they were as sojourning strangers, and may doe workes for themselves openly on the Sabbath, as any of the Israelites might on a working day. By which it seems that strangers, yea, and servants too, in case they were not circumcised, or otherwile initiated into their Churches were not obliged to keepe the Sabbath. Which plainly shewes that by the Jews themselves, the keeping of the Sabbath was not taken for a morall Law; or to concerne any but themselves and those of their religion onely. For had they took it for a part of the Law of Nature, as universally to be obserued as any other; they had not suffered it to be broke amongst them, before their faces, and that without controul or censure: no more, then they would have permitted a sojourning stranger to blaspheme their God, or publickly to set up Idolatrie, or without punishment to steale their goods, or destroy their persons. The rather since their Sabbath had prevailed to farre, as to be taken up with other parts of their religion, in many principall Cities of the Roman Empire: or otherwise by way of imitation, so much in use among the Gentiles. And this I have the rather noted in this place and time, because that in these times the Countrey of the Jews was most resorted to by all sorts of strangers; and they themselves in favour with the Roman Emperours.

(5.) Indeede these customes of the Jews did flie about the Roman Empire with a swifter wing, by reason of that

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countenance which great *Augustus Cesar* did shew both to the men, and unto their *Sabbath*. First, for the men, he did not only suffer them to enjoy the liberty of conscience in their owne Country, and there to have their *Synagogues* and publick places of assembly, as before they had: but hee permitted them to inhabit a great part of *Rome*, and there to live according to their Country law. *Hist. 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exhortation to speake unto the people, dicite, say on. As for the Law (I note this onely by the way) they had divided it into 54. Sections, which they read over in the two and fifty sabbaths: joyning two of the shortest, twice, together, that so it might bee all read over within the yeare; beginning on the sabbath which next followed, the feast of Tabernacles, ending on that which came before it. So farre our Saviour found no fault, but rather countenanced and confirmed the custome, by his gratiouse presence, and example. But in these rigid vanities, and absurd traditions, by which the Scribes and Pharisees had abused the sabbath, and made it of an eale to become a drudgerie; in those he thought it requisite to detect their follies, and ease the people of that bondage, which they in their proud humours had imposed upon them. The Pharisees had taught that it was unlawfull on the sabbath day, either to heale the impotent, or relieve the sick, or feed the hungry: but he confutes them in them all, both by his *Acts*, and by his *disputations*. Whatever he maintain'd by argument, he made good by practise. Did they accuse his followers of gathering corne upon the Sabbath, being then an hungred? he lets them know what David did in the lathe extremitie. Their eating, or their gathering on the Sabbath day, take you which you will, was not more blameable, nay not so blameable by the law; as David's eating of the shewbread; which plainly was not to be eate by any, but the Priest alone. The cures he did upon the Sabbath, what were they more then, which themselves did daily do, in laying salves unto those Infants, whom on the Sabbath day they had circumcised. His bidding of the impotent man to take up his bed, and get him gone, which seemed so odious in their eyes, was it so great a toyle, as to walke round the walls of Hiericho, and beare the Ark upon their shoulders? or any greater burden to their idle backs, then to lift up the axe, and set him free out of that dangerous ditch, into the which the hasty beast might fall as well upon the Sabbath,

as the other dayes? Should men take care of oxen and not God of man? Not so. The Sabbath was not made for a lazie idoll, which all the Nations of the world should fall downe, and worship: but for the ease and comfort of the labouring man, that he might have some time to refresh his spirits. *Sabbatum propter hominem factum est*, the Sabbath, saith our Saviour, was made for man; man was not made to serve the Sabbath. Nor had God so irrevocablie spoke the word, touching the sanctifying of the Sabbath, that he had left himselfe no power to repeale that Law; in case he saw the purpose of the Law perverted: the Sonne of man, even he that was the Sonne both of God and Man, being Lord also of the Sabbath. Nay it is rightly marked by some, that Christ our Saviour did more works of charitie on the Sabbath day, then on all dayes else. *Zanchius obserues it out of Irenaeus, Sapientia multo Christum in die Sabbathi praeferuisse opera charitatis, quam in aliis diebus*; and his note is good. Not that there was some urgent and extreme necessitie; either the Cures to be performed that day, or the man to perish. For if we looke into the story of our Saviours actions, we finde no such matter. It's true, that the Centurions sonne, and Peters mother in law, were even sickle to death: and there might be some reason in it, why he should haste unto their Cures on the Sabbath day. But on the other side, the man that had the withered hand, *Matth. 13*. and the woman with her fluxe of bloud eightene yeares together, *Luk. 13*. he that was troubled with the dropsie, *Luk. 14*. and the poore wretch which was afflicted with the palsey, *Joh. 5*. in none of these was found any such necessity, but that the cure might have beene respited to another day. What then? Shall it be thought our Saviour came to *destroy the Law*? No. God forbid. Himselfe hath told us, that he came to *fulfill* it rather. He came to let them understand the right meaning of it, that for the residue of time wherein it was to be in force, they might no longer be misled by the Scribes and Pharisees, and such blinde guides

guides as did abuse them. Thus have I briefly summed together, what I finde scattered in the writings of the ancient Fathers: which who desires to finde at large, may looke into *Irenaeus*, lib. 4. ca. 19. & 20. *Origen*. in *Nun*, hom. 23. *Tertull*. lib. 4. *contr. Marcion*. *Athanaf*. hom. de *Semone*, p. 1051. & 1072. *edit. gr. lat. Victor Antioch*, cap. 3. in *Marcion*. *Chrysost*. hom. 39. in *Matth*. 12. *Epi*. *phan*. lib. 1. *batas*. 30. n. 32. *Hieron*. in *Matth*. 12. *An*. *bros*. in cap. 3. *Luk*. lib. 3. & *Augustin*. *cont. Faustum*. lib. 16. ca. 28. & lib. 19. ca. 9. to descend no lower. With one of which last Fathers sayings, we conclude this list, *Nou* ergo *Dominus* rescripsit *Scripturam* *Uet*. *Test*. sed cogit in. *reliq*. Our Saviours purpose, saith the Father, was not to take away the *Law*, but to expound it.

(7) Not then to take away the Law ; it was to last a little longer. He had not yet pronounced, *Consummatum est*, that the Law was abrogated. Nor might it seeme so proper for him, to take away one Sabbath from us, which was rest from labour ; untill he had provided us of another, which was rest from sinne. And to provide us such a Sabbath was to cost him dearer, then words and arguments. He heale us by his stripes, or else no entrance into his rest, the eternall Sabbath. Besides the Temple stood as yet, and whilst that stood, or was in hope to be rebuilt, there was no end to be expected of the legall ceremonies. The Sabbath, and the Temple did both end together ; and which is more remarkable, on a Sabbath day. The Jews were still sicke of their old disease, and would not stirre a foot on the Sabbath day, beyond their compasse ; no, though it were to fave their Temple, and in that their Sabbath, or whatsoeuer else was most deare unto them. Nay they were more superstitious now, then they were before. For whereas in the former times it had beeene thoughten lawfull, to take armes and make warre on the Sabbath day, unlesse they were assaulted and their lives in danger : now it was律不可犯, as it is, for it was pronounced

¶ A R T. I. 16. Lib 65. Demonst. 1. 1

nounced unlawfull even to treat of peace. A fine contradiction. *Agrippa* layed this home unto them, when first they entertain'd a rebellious purpose against the *Romans*, *ταῦτα ταῦτα εἰδούσισιν εἰδη*, &c. If you observe the *custome* of the *Sabbaths*, and in them do nothing, it will be no hard matter to bring you under: for so your Ancestors found in their warres with *Pompey*, who ever deferred his works untill that day, wherein his enemies were idle and made no resistance. *Παρεγγανόντες δὲ εἰς τῷ πολέμῳ τὸν πατρεον τόμον*, &c. If on the other side you take armes that day, then you transgresse your *country* laws, your selues; and so I see no cause why you should rebell. Where note, *Agrippa* calls the *sabbath*, a *custome*, and their *Country law*; which makes it evident that they thought it not any *Law of Nature*. Now what *Agrippa* said, did in fine fall out: the *Citie* being taken on the *sabbath day*, as *Ios. Scaliger* computes it; or the *Parasceve* of the *sabbath*, as *Rab. Joses* hath determined. Most likely that it was on the *sabbath day* it selte. For *Dion* speaking of this warre, and of this taking of the *Citie*, concludes it thus. *Ἐντομεῖς τὸν ιερούλημα εἰς αὐτὴν τὸ Χρυσόν μεταβαίνειν καὶ τὸν ιερόν στενούν, εἰξαλέτο.* *Hierusalem*, saith he, was taken on the *Saturday*, which the *Jews* most reverence till this day. Thus tell the *Temple* of the *Jews*, and with it all the *ceremonies* of the *Law of Moses*. Since when, according as *Eusebius* tells us, *ταῦτα εἰργασίαν & στενούν, &c.* It is not lawfull for that people, either to sacrifice according to the law, or to build a *Temple*, or erect an *Altar*, to consecrate their Priests, or anoint their Kings: *εἰπε τὰς κατὰ Μωϋσέα παντας ταῦτα εἰργασίαν επετελεῖν, or finally to hold their solemn assemblies, or any of their Festivals ordained by Moses.*

(8) For that the *sabbath* was to end with other *legall ceremonies*, is by this apparent, first that it was an *institute of Moses*, and secondly an *institute* peculiar to the *Jewish Nation*; both which we have already proved: and therefore

" Moses.
(8) For that the *sabbath* was to end with other *legall* ceremonies, is by this apparent, first that it was an institute of *Moses*, and secondly an institute peculiar to the *Jewish* Nation; both which we have already proved: and therefore

fore was to end with the law of Moses, and the state of Jewrie. Fathers there be good store, which affirme as much: some of the which shall be produced to expresse themselves, that we may see what they conceived of the abrogation of the Sabbath. And first for *Justin Martyr*, it is his chiefe scope and purpose in his conference with *Trypho*; to make it manifest and unquestionable, that as there was no use of circumcision before *Abrahams* time, nor of the Sabbath untill *Moses*, & *Abra* *bius* *est* *zeti*, so neither is there any use of them at this present time: that as it tooke beginning then, so it was now to have an end. *Terentius* in his argument against the *Marcionites*, drawes out this conclusion, *Ad tempus & praesentis causa necessitatē convallis, non ad perpetui temporis observationem*; that God ordained the Sabbath upon speciell reasons, and as the times did then require, not that it should continue alwayes. *S. Athanasius* thus discoufeth, "Which God, saith he, had finisht the first creation, he did betake himselfe to rest, *ad id temp. n. sol.* *Cetero erit in nūc m. secundū*, &c. and therefore those of that creation did celebrate their Sabbath on the seventh day. But the accomplishment of the new-creature hath no end at all, and therefore God still worketh, as the Gospell teacheth. Hence is it, that we keepe no Sabbath, as the antients did, expecting an eternall Sabbath, which shall have no end. That of *S. Ambrose*, *Synagoga diem observat; ecclesia immortalem*, comes most neare to this. But he that speakes most fully to this point, is the great *S. Austin*, what he saith, shall be delivered under three severall heads. First, that the Sabbath is quite abrogated; *Tempore gratiae revelata, observatio illa Sabbathi, quæ unius dies vacacione figurabatur, ablatæ est ab observatione fidelium*: The keeping of the Sabbath is taken utterly away in this time of Grace; *De Gen. ad lit. I. 4. c. 13.* See the like, *ad Bonifac. I. 3. Tom. 7. contr. Fanst. Man. I. 6. c. 4.* *Quæ ex N. Test 69.* Seconde, that the Sabbath was not kept in the Church of Christ;

Dial. cum Tryphon.

Adv. Marc. I. 2.

Hom. de Sab. & circum.

Epist. 72. I. 9.

Christ; In illis decem præceptis, excepta sabbati observacione, dicatur mibi quid non sit observandum a Christiano. *desp. & lit. c. 14.* What is there (saith the Father) in all the Decalogue, except the keeping of the Sabbath, which is not punctually to be observed of every Christian. More of the like occursse *ad Genesi contr. Manich. I. I. c. 22.* *contr. Adimant. ca 2. Quæ in Exod. I. 2 qu. 173.* And thirdly, that it is not lawfull for a Christian to obliue the Sabbath. For speaking of the law, how it was a pedagogue to bring us unto the knowledge of Christ, he addes, that in thole institutes and ordinances, *Quibus Christianis ritibus non est, quale est sabbatum, circumcision, sacrificia, &c.* which are not lawfull to be used by any Christian, such as are the Sabbath, circumcision, sacrifices, and such other things; many great mysteries were contained. And in another place, *Quisquis diem illum observat, sicut litera sonat, carnaliter sapit. Sapere autem secundum carnem mortis est.* He that doth literally keepe the Sabbath, saours of the flesh: but to favour of the flesh is death: Therefore no Sabbath to bee kept by the sonnes of life.

(9) No Sabbath to be kept at all? We affirme not so. We know there is a Christian Sabbath, a Sabbath figured out unto us in the fourth Commandement, which every Christian man must keepe, that doth desire to enter into the rest of God. This is that Sabbath which the Prophet *Isaiah* hath commended to us. *Blessed is the man that keepeth the Sabbath from polluting it.* *Quid autem sabbatum est quod præcipit observandum, &c.* What Sabbath is it, saith *S. Hierome*, that is here commanded. The following words, saith he, will informe us that, *keeping our hands from doing evill.* This is the Sabbath here commanded, *Si bona faciens quiescat a malis*, if doing what is good we do rest from sinne. Nor was this his conceit alone; the later writers so expound it. The Prophet in this place, saith *Ryvet*, thus prophecies of the Church of Christ, *Blessed is the man that keepeth the Sabbath from polluting it,* *In Decalog.*

it, and keepeth his hands from doing any evill. *Vbi custodire sabbatum in Ecclesia Christiana, est custodire manus suas à malo.* And in these words, saith he, to keepe a sabbath in a Christian Church, is onely to preserue our hands from doing evill. The like spirituall sabbath doth the man of God prescribe unto us, in the 58. Chapter of his booke. *If thou turne away thy foot from the sabbath, from doing thy pleasure on my holy day, &c. nor doing thine owne way, nor finding thine owne pleasure, nor speaking thine owne words: then shalt thou delight thy selfe in the Lord, and I will cause thee to ride upon the high places of the earth, &c.* What saith S. Hierome unto this? It must be understood, saith he, spiritually. *Alioquin si hac tantum prohibentur in sabbato, ergo in aliis sex diebus tribuitur nobis libertas delinquendi.* For otherwise, if those things above remembred, are prohibited onely on the sabbaths, then were it lawfull for us on the other dayes, to follow our owne sinfull courses, speake our owne idle words, and pursue our owne voluptuous pleasures; which were most foolish to imagine. And so saith Ryver too for the moderne writers, *Perpetuam ab omnibus operibus nostris vitiis cessionem, &c.* That everlasting rest from all sinfull works, which is begun in this life, here; and finished in the life to come; is signified and represented by those words of *Isaiah, ca. 5. 8.* They therefore much mistake these Texts, and the meaning of them, who grounding thereupon, forbid all manner of recreations and lawfull pleasures, on their supposed sabbath day; as being utterly prohibited by Gods holy Prophet. The Jews did thus abuse this Scripture, in the times before: and made it an unlawfull matter, for any man to walke into the fields, or to see his gardens on the sabbath day; either to marke what things they wanted, or how well they prospered: because this was to do his owne pleasure, and so forbidden by the Prophet. But those that understand the true Christian sabbath, apply them to a better purpose; as was shewed before. And for the Christian sabbath, what it is, and in what

Verse 13, 14.

in locis.

In Decalog.

M aison. ap.
Ains. in Ex. 20.

what things it doth consist, besides what hath beene said already, wee shall adde something more from the ancient Fathers. If any man, saith *Justin Martyr*, that hath beene formerly a perjured person, a deceiver of his Neighbours, an incontinent liver, repents him of his sinnes, and amends his life: *νηστεία την πενιτείαν καὶ ηγάπην την πίστην την πενιτείαν*, that man doth keepe a true and holy Sabbath to the Lord his God. See to this purpose also, *Clemens of Alexandria*, *Strom. l. 4.* So *Origen*, *Omnis qui vivit in Christo semper in sabbatis vivit;* That man, whose life is hid with Christ in God, keeps a daily Sabbath. See to that purpose, *Hom. 23. in Numbers.* *Macarius* tells us also that the Sabbath given from God by *Moses*, was a Type onely and a shadow of that reall Sabbath, *τὸ διδύμον τὸν Λύκην ἀπὸ τῶν κειμένων*, given by the Lord unto the soule. More fully *Chrysostome*, *πάντα τὰ οὐκετά τοιαύτα τὰ δια τοὺς ἐπτακυννα, &c.* "What use, saith hee, is there of a Sabbath to him whose conscience is a continuall feast, to him whose conversation is in Heaven. For now we feast it every day, doing no manner of wickednesse, but keeping a spirituall rest, holding our hands from covetousnesse, our bodies from uncleannessse. What need we more? The Law of righteousness containes ten Commandements. The first, to know one God; the second to abstaine from Idols; the third not to prophane Gods Name; the fourth *Sabbatum celebre spirituale*, to keepe the true spirituall Sabbath, &c. So hee that made the *Opus imperfectum*, on *Saint Matthews Gospell*. *Saint Augustine* finally makes the fourth Commandement, so farre as it concernes us *Christians* to be no more then *requies cordis, & tranquillitas mentis quam facit bona conscientia*, the quiet of the heart, and the peace of minde, occasioned by a good conscience. Of any other Sabbath to bee looked for now, the Fathers utterly are silent: and

Dial. cum T. J.
phon.Text 19 in
Matb.

Hom. 5.

Hom. 39. in
Matb. 12.Hom 49. in
Matb. 24.De conuen. 10.
p. 10.
p. 10.

and therefore we may well resolute, there is no such thing.

(10) Yet notwithstanding this, the Jewes still doe upon their Sabbath, and that more lottishly, and with more superstition farre then they ever did. A view whereof I shall present, and so conclude the first part of this present argument. And first for the Parasceves or their Eues, *Buxdorfius* thus informes us of their vaine behaviour. *Dic Veneris singuli unguis de digitis absindunt, &c.*

On Friday in the afternoone they pare their nailes, and whet their knives, and lay their holyday-clothes in readiness for the reception of Queen Sabbath, for so they call it: and after lay the cloth, and set on their meat, that nothing be to be done upon the morrow. About the evening goes the Sexton from door to door, commanding all the people to abstain from work, and to make ready for the Sabbath. That done they take no worke in hand. Onely the women, when the Sunne is neere its setting, light up their Sabbath-lamps in their dining roomes; and stretching out their hands towards them, give them their blessing and depart. To morrow they beginne their Sabbath very early, and for entrance thereunto, array themselues in their best clothes, and their richeſt jewelſ: it being the conceit of *Rabbi Solomon*, that the memento in the front of the fourth Commandement was placed there especially, to put the Jewes in minde of their holy-day Garments. Nay ſo precise they are in these preparations, and the following rest, that if a Jew go forth on Friday, and on the night falls ſhort of home more then is lawfull to be travailed on the Sabbath day, there muſt he ſet him down, and there keepe his Sabbath; though in a Wood, or in the Field, or the high-way ſide; without all feare of wind or weaſher, of Theeves or Robbers; without all care alſo of meat and drinke. *Pericula latronum pradonumque onini, penuria item omni cibi potusque neglectis*, as that Author hath it. For their behaviour on the Sabbath, and the

Synag. Jud. c. 10

ſtrange niceſties wherewith they abuse themſelues, he deſcribes it thus. *Equus aut asinus Domini ipſius stabulo exiens, frenum aut caperſtrum non aliud quicquam portabit, &c.* An horse may have a bridle or an halter to leade, not a saddle to lead him: and hee that leadeth him must not let it hang ſo looſe, that it may ſeeme hee rather carrieth the bridle, then leads the Horse. An Henne muſt not weare her hōſe ſowed about her legge. They may not milke their Kine, nor eat any of the milke though they have procured ſome Christian to doe that worke, unleſſe they buy it. A Tailor may not weare his Needle ſticking on his ſleeve. The lame may uſe a ſtaffe, but the blinde may not. They may not burthen themſelues with Clogges or Pattens, to keepe their feet out of the durt: nor rub their Shooes, if oule, againſt the ground; but againſt a wall: nor wipe their durtie hands with a cloth or Towell; but with a Cowes or Horses tayle they may do it lawfully. A wounded man may weare a paſter on his ſore, that formerly was applied unto it: but if it fall off, hee may not lay it on anew, or binde up any wound that day, nor carry money in their purſes, or about their clothes. They may not carry a fanne or flap to drive away the Flies. If a Flea bite, they may remoove it, but not kill it; but a Lowſe they may: yet Rabbi Eliezer thinkes one may as lawfully kill a Cannell. They muſt not fling more Corne unto their Poultry then will ſerve that day: leſt it may grow by lying ſtill, and they be ſaid to ſow their Corne upon the Sabbath. To whiſtle a tune with ones mouth, or play it on an instrument, is unlawfull utterly: as alſo to knocke with the ring or hammer of a doore; or knocke ones hand upon a table, though it be onely to ſtill a childe. So likewiſe, to draw letters either in dulf or aches, or on a wet board is prohibited; but not to fancie them in the aire. With many other infinite abſurdities

N

ſurdities

Id. cap. 14.

surditie of the like poore nature; wherewith the Rabbins have beeene pleased to afflict their brethren, and make good sport to all the World, which are not either Jewes, or Jewisly affected. Nay, to delight our Saviour, as *Buxdorfius* tells us, they have determined since, that it is unlawfull to lift the *Oxe* or *Axe* out of the ditch; which in the strictest time of the *Pharisaical* rigours, was accounted lawfull. Indeed the maruaile is the lesse, that they are so uncharitable to poore Brute creatures; when as they take such little pitty upon themselves. *Cranianus* reports a story of a *Jew* of *Magdeburg*, who falling on the *Saturday* into a *Privity*, would not be taken out, because it was the *Sabbath day*: and that the Bishop gave command, that there hee should continue on the *Sunday* also, so that betwene both the poore *Jew* was poysoned with the very stinke. The like our *Annals* do relate of a *Jew* of *Tenkessbury*, whose story being cast into three riming Verses, according to the Poetry of those times. I have here presented and translated; Dialogue-wise, as they first made it.

Tende manus Solomon, ut te de stercore tollam.

Sabbata nostra colo, de stercore surgere nolo.

Sabbata nostra quidem, Solomon celebrabis ibidem.

Friend Solomon, thy hands up-peare,
And from the jakes I will thee beare.

Our *Sabbath* I so highly prize,
That from the place I will not rise.

Then Solomon, without more ado,
Our *Sabbath* thou shalt keepe there too.

P A R T. I.

For the continuance of their *sabbath*, as they begin it early on the day before; so they prolong it on the day till late at night. And this they do in pitie to the soules in Hell; who all the while the *Sabbath* lasteth, have free leave to play. " For as they tell us silly wretches, upon the *Eve* before the *Sabbath*, it is proclaimed in *Hell*, that every one may goe his way, and take his pleasure: and when the *Sabbath* is concluded, they are recalled againe to the house of torments. I am ashamed to meddle longer in these trifles, these dreames and doctages of infatuated men, given over to a reprobate sense. Nor had I stood so long upon them, but that in this *Anatomic* of the *Jewish follies*, I might let some amongst us see into what dangers they are falling. For there are some, indeed too many, who taking this for granted, which they cannot proove, that the *Lords Day* succeeds into the place and rights of the *Jewish sabbath*, and is to be observed by vertue of the fourth Commandement: have trenched too neere upon the Rabbins, in binding men to nice and scrupulous obseruances; which neither we nor our Fore-fathers were euerable to endure. But with what warrant they have made a *sabbath day*, in the Christian Church, where there was never any knowne in all times before; or upon what authoritie they have presumed to lay heavy burthens upon the *consciences* of poore men, which are *free* in *Christ*: wee shall the better see by tracing downe the story from our Saviours time, unto the times in which wee live. But I will here set down and rest, beseeching God, who enabled me thus farre, to guide me onwards to the end.

Tu qui principio medum, medio adjice finem.

THE HISTORY OF THE SABBATH.

The second Book.

*From the first preaching of the Gospell,
to these present times.*

By Pet. Heylyn.

COLOSS. 2. 16, 17.

*Let no man judge you in meate or in drinke, or in respect of
an holy day, or of the new Moone, or of the SABBATH
dayes: which are a shadow of things to come, but the body is
of Christ.*

LO N D O N,
Printed by Thomas Harper, for Henry Scyler, at the Tygers
head in Saint Pauls Church-yard. 1636.

To the Christian Reader.

And such I hope to meet with, in this point especially: which treating of the affaires of the Christian Church, cannot but be displeasing unto them, which are not Christianly affected. Our former Book wee destinatid to the lewish part of this enquiry: wherein, though long it was before we found it, yet at the last we found a Sabbath. A Sabbath which began with that state and Church, and ended also when they were no longer to be called a Nation; but a dispersed and scattered ruine of what once they were. In that which followeth, our enquirie must be more diffused, of the same latitude with the Church; a Church not limited and confined to some Tribes and Kindreds, but generally spreading over all the world. We may affirme it of the Gospel, what Florus sometimes said of the state of Rome. Ita late per orbem terrarum arma circumtulit, ut qui res ejus legunt, non unius populi, sed generis humani facta discunt. The historie of the Church, and of the World, are of like extent. So that the search



berein, as unto me it was more painfull in the doing, so unto thee will it be more pleasing being done; because of that varietie which it will afford thee. And this Part wee have called the History of the Sabbath too: although the institution of the Lords Day, and entertainment of the same in all times and Ages since that institution, be the chiefe thing whereof it treateth: For being it is said by some that the Lords Day succeeded, by the Lords appointment, into the place and rights of the Iewish Sabbath; so to be called, and so to be observed, as the Sabbath was: this booke was wholly to be spent in the search thereof, whether in all, or any Ages of the Church, either such doctrine had bin preached, or such practice pressed upon the conscience of Gods people. And search indeed we did with all care and diligence, to see if wee could finde a Sabbath, in any evidence of Scripture, or writings of the holy Fathers, or Edicts of Emperours, or Decrees of Councils: or finally in any of the publick Acts & Monuments of the Christian Church. But after severall searches made upon the alias, and the pluries, wee still returne, Non est inventus: and thereupon resolve in the Poets language, Et quod invenis ul-

To the Reader.

usquam, esse putes nusquam; that which is nowhere to be found, may very strongly be concluded not to be at all. Buxdorfius in the 11. Chapter of his Synagoga Iudaica, out of Antonius Margarita, tells us of the Iews, quod die sabbatino, praeter animam consuetam, praediti sunt & alia; that on the Sabbath day, they have an extraordinary soule infused into them, which doth enlarge their hearts, and rowze up their spirits, Ut Sabbathum multo honorabilius peragere possint, that they may celebrate the Sabbath with the greater honour. And though this sabbatarie soule, may by a Pythagoricall μεταμόρφωσις, seeme to have transmigrated from the Iewes, into the bodies of some Christians in these later dayes: yet I am apt to give my selfe good hopes, that by presenting to their view, the constant practise of Gods Church in all times before, and the consent of all Gods Churches at this present; they may be dispossessed thereof without great difficulty. It is but anima superflua, as Buxdorfius calls it; and may be better spared, then kept, because superfluous. However I shall easily perswade my selfe, that by this generall representation of the estate and practise of the Church of Christ, I may confirme the wa-

To the Reader.

vering, in a right perswasion ; and assure such as are already well affected, by shewing them the perfect harmonie and agreement, which is betwene this Church and the purest times. It is our constant prayer to almighty God, as well that he would strengthen such as do stand, and confirme the weake, as to raise up those men which are fallen into sinne and error. As are our prayers, such should be also our endeavours; as universall to all sorts of men, as charitable to them in their severall cases and distresses. Happy those men, who do a right discharge their duties, both in their prayers, and their performance. The blessing of our labours we must leave to him, who is all in all: without whom all Pauls planting, and Apollos watering, will yeld poore increase. In which of these three states soever thou art, good Christian Reader, let me beseech thee kindly to accept his pains, which for thy sake were undertaken: that so he might, in some poore measure, be an instrument, to strengthen or confirme, or raise thee, as thy case requires. This is the most that I desire, and lesse then this thou couldst not do, did I not desire it. And so fare thee well.

PART. 2.



THE HISTORY OF THE SABBATH.

The second Booke.

CHAP. I.

That there is nothing found in Scripture, touching the keeping of the
LORDS DAY.

(1) The Sabbath not intended for a perpetuall ordinance. (2) Preparatives unto the dissolution of the Sabbath, by our Saviour Christ. (3) The Lords day not enjoyed in the place thereof, either by Christ, or his Apostles: but instituted by the authority of the Church. (4) Our

(4) Our Saviours resurrection on the first day of the weeke and apparitions on the same, make it not a Sabbath. (5) The comming downe of the Holy Ghost upon the first day of the weeke, makes it not a Sabbath. (6) The first day of the weeke not made a Sabbath, more than others, by Saint Peter, Saint Paul, or any other of the Apostles. (7) Saint Paul frequents the Synagogue, on the Iewish Sabbath; and upon what reasons. (8) What may conclude against the Sabbath, in the Councell holden in Hierusalem. (9) The preaching of Saint Paul at Troas, upon the first day of the weeke, no argument, that then that day was set apart by the Apostles, for religious exercises. (10) Collections, on the first day of the week, 1. Cor. 16. conclude as little for that purpose. (11) Those places of Saint Paul, Galat. 4. 10. Coloss. 2. 16. doe prove invincibly, that there is no Sabbath to be looked for. (12) The first day of the week not called the Lords day, until the end of this first age: and what that ist addes unto it.

(1)



Ee shewed you in the former book what did occure about the Sabbath, from the Creation of the World to the destruction of the Temple: which comprehended the full time of 4000 years and upwards, in the opinion of the most and best Chronologers. Now for five parts of eight, of the time computed, from the Creation to the Law, being in all 2540 years and somwhat more; there was no Sabbath knowne at all. And for the fiftene hundred, being the remainder, it was not so observed by the Jewes themselves, as if it had been any part of

of the Law of Nature: but sometimes kepr, and sometimes broken; either according as mens private busynesses, or the affaires of the republike, would give way unto it. Never such conscience made thereof, as of adultery, murder, blasphemy, or idolatrie; no not when as the Scribes and Pharisees had most made it burdensome: there being many *casus reservati*, wherein they could dispense with the fourth Commandement, though not with any of the other. Had they beene all alike, equally natural & moral, as it is conceived; they had been all alike observed, all alike immutable: no jot nor syllable of that law, which was ingraft by nature in the soule of man, being to fall unto the ground, till heaven and earth shall passe away, and decay together; till the whole frame of Nature, for preseration of the which that Law was given, be dissolved for ever. The Abrogation of the Sabbath which before we spake of, shews plainly that it was no part of the Morall law, or Law of Nature: there being no law naturall, which is not perpetuall. Tertullian takes it for confess, or at least makes it plaine and evident, *Temporale fuisse mandatum quod quandoque cessaret*, that it was onely a temporarie constitution, which was in time to have an end. And after him, Procopius Gazanus, in his notes on Exodus, layes downe two severall sorts of laws, whereof some were to be perpetuall, and some were not: of which last sort were Circumcision, and the Sabbath, *Quadraverunt usque in adventum Christi*, which lasted till our Saviours comming; and he being come, went out insensiblie of themselues. For as S. Ambrose rightly tels us, *Absente imperatore imago ejus habet autoritatem, presente non habet, &c.* What time the Emperour is absent, we give some honour to his State, or representation; but none at all, when he is present. And so, saith he, the Sabbaths, and new-moones, and the other festivals, before our Saviours comming, had a time of honour, during the which they were observed: but he being present once, they became neglected. But hereof wee have

Luk 16.17.

Conir. Marc. 1.2

C. 16.

In Col. 2. 16.

have spoke more fully in our former booke.

(2) Neglected, not at once, and upon the sudden; but leastirely and by degrees. There were *preparatives* unto the *sabbath*, as before we shewed, before it was proclaimed, as a *Law*, by *Moses*: and there were some *preparatives* required, before that law of *Moses* was to be repealed. These we shall easiest discover, if we shall please to looke on our *Saviours* actions: who gave the first hint unto his disciples, for the abolishing of the *sabbath*, amongst other *ceremonies*. It's true, that he did frequently repaire unto the *synagogues* on the *sabbath* dayes; and on those dayes, did frequently both reade and expound the *Law* unto the people. *Anabe came to Nazareth*, saith the Text, *where he had beeene brought up, and as his custome was, he went into the Synagogue on the sabbath day, and stood up to reade*. It was his *custome* soto do, both when he lived a private life, to frequent the *Synagogue*; that other men might do the like, by his good example: and after when he undertooke the *ministrie*, to expound the *Law* unto them, there; that they might be the better by his good instructions. Yet did not he conceive that teaching or expounding the word of God, was annexed onely to the *Synagogue*, or to the *sabbath*. That most divine and heavenly Sermon, which takes up three whole Chapters of *S. Matthews Gospell*, was questionlesse a weeke dayes worke: and so were most of thole delivered to us in *S. John*; as also that, which he did preach unto them from the ship-side, and divers others. Nay the text tells us, that *he went through every Cittie and Village, preaching, and shewing the glad tydings of God*. Too great a taskē to be performed onely on the *sabbath* dayes: and therefore doubt we not, but that all dayes equally were taken up, for so great a busynesse. So when he sent out his *Apostles* to *preach the kingdome of God*, he bound them not to dayes and times, but left all at libertie: that they might take their best advantages, as occasion was; and lose no time in the advancing of their Masters

Luk. 4. 16.

Luk. 8. 1.

Masters service. Now as in this, he seemed to give all dayes the like prerogative, with the *sabbath*; so many other wayes, did he abate that estimation, which generally the people had conceived of the *sabbath* day. And howsoever the opinion which the people generally had conceived thereof, was grounded, as the times then were, on superstition rather, then true sense of pietie: yet that opinion once abated, it was more easily prepared for a dissolution; and went away at last, with lesse noise and clamour. Particulars of this nature we will take along, as they lyē in order. His casting out the *uncleane spirit* out of a man, in the *Synagogue of Capernaum*, on the *Sabbath* day, his curing of *Peters wives mother*, and healing many which were sick of divers diseases on the selfe same day: being all works of marvellous mercy, and effected onely by his word, brought no clamour with them. But when he cured the *impotent man at the poole of Bethesda*; and had commanded him to take up his bed and walke; then did the *Iews* begin to persecute him, and secke to slay him. And how did he excuse the matter? *My Father worketh hitherto*, saith he, *and I also worke: Offenders per hac in nullo seculi hujus Sabbath requiescere Deum, a dispensationibus mundi, & provisionibus generis humani*. Whereby, saith *Origen*, he let them understand, that there was never any *Sabbath* wherein God rested or left off, from having a due care of mankinde: and therefore neither would he intermit such a weighty busynesse, in any reference to the *Sabbath*. Which answer when it pleased them not, but that they sought their times to kill him; he then remembreth them how they upon the *sabbath* used to *circumcise a man*, and that as lawfully he might do the one, as they the other. This precedent made his disciples a little bolder, then otherwise perhaps they would have beene; *Pulling the eares of corne, and rubbing them with their hands, and eating them to satisfie and allay their hunger*: which *Epiphanius* thinks they would not have done, though they were an hungred, had they not found both

Loh. 5.

Hom. 23. in Numer.

Loh. 7.

Matth. 12.

Lk. 1. 30.

n. 3. 2.

both by his doctrine and example, that the Sabbath did begin to be in it's declination. For which, when he, and they, were joynly questioned by the Pharisees, he choaks them with the instances of what David did in the same extremitie, when he ate the shew-bread; and what the Priests did every sabbath, when they slew the sacrifices. In which it is to be considered, that in these severall defences, our Saviour goes no higher then the legall ceremonies, the sacrifice, the shew-bread, and the Circumcision. No argument or parallel case drawne for his justification, from the morall law; or any such neglect thereof on the like occasions. Which plainly shews, that he conceived the sabbath to be no part or member of the morall law; but onely to be ranked amongst the Mosaicall ordinances. It happened on another Sabbath, that in the synagogue he beheld a man with a withered hand; and called him forth, and made him come into the midft, and stretch out his hand, and then restored it. Hereupon Athan. notes, ἐπει τὸν κατὰ τὸν Σαββατὸν γνωρίζειν, that Christ reserved his greatest miracles for the Sabbath day: and that he bade the man stand forth, in defiance as it were of all their malice, and informing humour. His healing of the woman which had beene crooked 18. years, and of the man that had the dropsie; one in the synagogue, the other in the house of a principall Pharisee, are prooue sufficient that he feared not their accusatiōs. But that great cure he wrought on him that was born blinde, is most remarkable to this purpose. First in relation to our Saviour, who had before healed others with his word alone; but here he spit upon the ground, and made clay thereof, and anointed the eyes of the blinde man with the clay: ἐπει τὸν θεραπευοντα, but to mould clay and make a plaster, was questionlesse a worke, so saith Epiphanius. Next in relation to the patient, whom he commanded to go into the poole of Siloam, and then wash himselfe: which certainly could not be done without bodily labour. These words and actions of our Saviour, as before we laid, gave

Luk. 6.6.

Hom. de Semen.

Job. 9.

L.1: Haref. 30.
n. 32.

the first hint to his disciples for the abolishing of the Sabbath, amongst other ceremonys; which were to have an end, without Saviours sufferings; to be nailed with him, to his Crosse, and buried with him, in his grave, for ever. Now where it was objected in S. Austins time, why Christians did not keepe the Sabbath, since Christ affirmes it of himselfe, that he *came not to destroy the Law but to fulfill it*: the Father thereto makes reply, that the before they observed it not, *Quia quod ea figura profitebatur, jam Christus implevit*, because our Saviour had fulfilled what ever was intended in that Law, by calling us to a spirituall rest, in his owne great mercie. For as it is most truly said by Epiphanius, ἐπει τὸ μετὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ, & πάσῃ τῷ μητρὶ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, &c. &c. He was the great and everlasting Sabbath, whereof the lesse (and temporall) Sabbath was a type and figure, which had continued till his coming: by him commanded in the law; in him destroyed, and yet by him fulfilled in the holy Gospel. So Epiphanius.

Cont. Faust. 1. 19.
c. 9.Lib. 1. ber 30.
n. 32.

(3) Neither did he, or his disciples, ordaine another Sabbath in the place of this, as if they had intended onely to shift the day; and to transferre this honour to some other time. Their doctrine and their practise are directly contrary, to so new a fancie. It's true, that in some tract of time, the Church in honour of his resurrection, did set apart that day on the which he rose, to holy exercises: but this upon their owne authoritie, and without warrant from above, that we can heare of; more then the generall warrant which God gave his Church, that all things in it be done decently, and in comely order. This is that which is told us by Athanasius, πράξεις την κατανοήσασαν, we honour the Lords day for the resurrection. So Maximus Taurinensis, *Dominicum diem ideo solennem esse, quia in eo salvatur, velut sol oriens, discussis inferorum tenebris, luce resurrectionis emicuerit*; That the Lords day is therefore solemnly observed, because thereon our behaviour, like the rising Sunne, dispelled the clouds of hellish darknesse, by the light of his most glorious

Hom. de Semen.
re.Hom. 3. de
Pentesof.

rious resurrection. The like S. Austin, *Dies Dominicus Christianis resurrectione Domini declaratus est, & ex his ceperit habere festivitatem suam.* The Lords day was made knowne, saith he, unto us Christians, by the resurrection; and from that began to be accounted holy. See the like, *lib. 22. de Civit. Dei. c. 30. & serm. 15. de Verbis Ap. stoli.* But then it is withall to be observed, that this was onely done on the authoritie of the Church, and not by any precept of our Lord and Saviour, or any one of his Apostles. And first, besides that there is no such precept extant at all in holy Scripture, *Socrates* hath affirmed it in the generall, *σκότων μὲν ἐτοῖς Αποστόλοις, & πεπιστεγέν έορτασκῶν ρομόδετεν, &c.* that the designes of the Apostle was not to busie themselves in prescribing festivall dayes, but to instruct the people in the wayes of godlinelie. Now lest it should be said, that *Socrates* being a Novatian, was a protest enemie to all the orders of the Church: we have the same, almost verbatim, in *Nicephorus*, *lib. 12. cap. 32.* of his Ecclesiastical History. S. Athanasius saith as much, for the particular of the Lords day, that it was taken up by a voluntarie usage in the Church of God, without any commandement from above. *ώστε περιενθάλατο φυλακήν, &c.* As, saith the Father, it was command-ed at the first, that the Sabbath day should be obserued, in memory of the accomplishment of the world: *όπου τοις κυριακήν τιμῶμεν μηδέν τοις ἀρχήσ δευτέρος αρκτίτην, τοιούτην*, to do we celebrate the Lords day, as a memoriall of the begin-ning of a new creation. Where note the difference here delivered by that Reverend Prelate. Of the Jews Sabbath it is said, *τιμάτιν εὐτελατο*, that it was command-ed to be kept: but of the Lords day there is no commandement, onely a positive *πιστώμεν*, an honour voluntarily afforded it by consent of men. Therefore whereas we finde it in the *Homilie*, entituled *De Seminario*, *μετέθνη ὁ κύριος τοις αστικοῖς εἰς κυριακήν*, that Christ transferred the Sabbath to the Lords day; this must be understood, not as if done by his commandement, but on his occasion: the resurrec-

De Sabb. & Cisumus.

tion of our Lord upon that day, being the principall mo-tive, which did induce his Church to make choice there-of, for the assemblies of the people. For otherwise it would plainly crosse what formerly had been said by Athanasius, in his *Τιμών*; and not him onely, but the whole cloud of witnessess, all the Catholick Fathers, in whom there is not any words which reflects that way; but much in affirmation of the contrary. For besides what is laid before, & elsewhere shall be said in its proper place.

The Councell held at *Paris*, *An. 829* ascribes the keeping of the Lords Day at most to *Apostolical tradition*, confirmed by the autority of the Church. For to the Councel,

cap. 50.

Christianorū religiosæ & devotionis, qua ut creditur Apostolorum traditione immo Ecclesie autoritate descendit, mos inolevit, ut Dominicū diem, ob Dominica resurrectionis memoriam, honorabiliter colat. And last of all *Tostatus* puts this difference, between the Festivals of the old testament, and those now solemnized in the new: that in the Old Te-stament God appointed all the Festivals that were to be obserued in the Jewish Church: *in novo nulla festivitas a Christo legislatore determinata est, sed in Ecclesia Pralatis ista statuunt*, but in the new, there were no Festivals at all prescribed by Christ, as being left unto the Prelates of the Church, by them to be appointed, as occasion was.

What others of the ancient writers, and what the Protestant Divines have affirmed herein; we shal hereafter see in their proper places. As for these words of our Redeemer, in S. Matthews Gospel, *Pray that your flight be not in the winter, neither on the Sabbath day*; they have indeed beeene much alleaged, to prove that Christ did intimate, at the least, unto his Apostles and the rest, that there was a parti-cular day by him appoointed, whereof he willed them to be carefull: which being not the Jewish Sabbath, must of necessitie, as they thinke, be the Lords Day. But certain-ly the Fathers tell us no such matter, nay, they say the contrary: and make these words apart of our Redemeers aduertisement to the Jews, not to the Apostles. *Saint Chrysostome hath it so expressly.* *Οετοι την τιμην της Ιερωνιμου* *την τιμην της Ιερωνιμου*

cap. 24. v. 10.

in Math. 24.

172.

“ λόγος ἦν, &c. Behold, saith he, how he addresseth his discourse unto the *Jewes*, & telz them of the enis which shold fall upon thē: for neither were the *Apostles* bound to observe the *Sabbath*; nor were they there, whē thole calamities fell upon the *Jewish Nation*. *N* in the winter nor on the *Sabbath*, and why so saith he? Because their flight being so quick & suddaine, οὐτε εἰσῆλθον Ιούδαιοις, neither the *Jews* would dare to flie on the *Sabbath*, [for such their superstition was in the later times] nor would the winter but be very troublesome, in such distresses. *Theophilus* doth affirme exprefly, that this was spake unto the *Jews*, & spoke upon the selfsame reasons: adding withall, ἀπόστολοι οὐδεὶς διατελεῖται ἐν Ιερουσαλήμ, that before any of thole miseries fell upon that Nation, the *Apostles* were all departed from out *Jerusalem*. *S. Hieronim* saith as much, as unto the time, that thos calamities which by our *Saviour* were foretold, were generally referred unto the wars of *Titus* and *Vespasian*: and that both in his Comment on *S. Mathew's* *Gospel*; and his Epistle to *Algasia*. And for the thing, that the *Apostles* and the rest of the *Disciples*, were al departed from *Jerusalem*, before that heavy warre began, is no leſſe evident in story. For the *Apostles* long before that time, were either martyred; or dispersed in severall places for the enlargment of the *Gospel*; not any of them resident in *Jerusalem* after the martyrdome of *S. James*, who was Bishop there. And for the residue of the *Disciples* they had forsook the Country alſo before the warres: being admonished ſo to do by an heavenly vision, which warned them to withdraw from thence and repaire to *Pella*, beyond *Jordan*, as *Eusebius* tells us. So that theſe words of our *Redeemer* could not be ſpoke as to the *Apostles*, and in them unto all the rest of the *Disciples* which ſhould follow after; but to the people of the *Jewes*. To whom our *Saviour* gave this caution, not that hee did not thinke it lawfull for them to flie upon the *Sabbath* day: but that as things then were, and as their conſciences were intangled by the *Scribes* and *Pharisees*, he found that they would count it a moſt grievous

In *Math 24*.

Qu. 4.

Hist. Ecccl. 3.6.5

voys misery, to be put unto it. To returne then unto our ſtory, as the chiefe reaſon, why the Christians of the primitive times, did ſet apart this day to religious uſes, was becauſe *Christ*, that day, diſtire again from death to life, for our *justification*: ſo there was ſome analogie or proportion, which this day ſeemed to hold with the former *Sabbath*, which might more eaſily inducē them to obſerve the ſame. For as God reſted on the *Sabbath* from all the works which he had done in the *Creation*: ſo did the Sonne of God reſt also on the day of his *resurrection*, from all the works which he had done in our *Redemption*. *Ιερώνυμος* ſays, αλλά τοῦτον τὸν ἡμέραν τὸν ἡράκλειον, as *Gregory Nyffen* notes it for us. Yet ſo that as the Father reſted not on the former *Sabbath*, from the works of *preservation*; ſo neither doth our *Saviour* reſt at any time, from perfecting this worke of our redemp- tion, by a perpetuall application of the benefit and effects thereof. This was the cauſe, and theſe the motives, which did induce the *Church* in ſome tract of time, to ſolemnize the day of *Christ's resurrection*, as a *weekly Festivall*; though not to keepe it as a *Sabbath*.

(4) I ſay in tract of time, for *ab initio non fuit sic*, it was not ſo in the beginning. The very day it ſelue was not ſo obſerved: though it was known to the *Apostles* in the morning early, that the *Lord was riſen*. We find not on the newes, that they came together, for the performance of divine and religious exerciſes; much leſſe that they intended it for a *Sabbath* day: or that our *Saviour* came amongſt them until late at night, as in likelihood he would have done had any ſuch performance beeſe thought neceſſary, as was required unto the making of a *Sabbath*. Nay, which is more, our blessed *Saviour*, on that day, and two of the *Disciples*, whatloever the others did, were other wife employed then in *Sabbath* duties. For from *Hiernalem* to *Emmaus*, whether the two *Disci- ples* went, was ſixty furlongs, which is ſeven miles and an halfe,

Orat. in ſanct. Pascha.

Luke 24.13.

halfe, and so much back again unto Hierusalem, which is fifteene miles. And Christ who went the journey with them, at least, part thereof and left them not until they came unto Emmaus ; was back againe that night, and put himselfe into the ~~middest~~ of the Apostles. Had he intended it for a Sabbath day, doubtlesse he would have rather joyned himselfe with the Apostles, as it is most likely, kept themselves together in expectation of the issue, and so were most prepared and fittred to beginne the new Christian Sabbath ; then with thole men, who contrary to the nature of a Sabbaths rest, were now engagid in a journey, and that for ought wee knew, about worldly busynesses. Nor may we think, but that our Saviour would have told them of so great a fault, as violating the new Christian Sabbath, even in the first beginning of it ; had any Sabbath been intended. As for the being of the eleven in a place together, that could not have relation to any Sabbath duties, or religious exercises ; being none such were yet commanded : but onely to those cares and feares, wherewith, poore then, they were distracted, which made them loath to part asunder, till they were settled in their hopes, or otherwise resolued on somewhat whereunto to trust. And where it is conceived by some, that our most blessed Saviour shewed him selfe oftner unto the Apostles upon the first day of the weeke, then on any other ; and therefore by his own appearing did sanctifie that day, instead of the Jewish Sabbath : neither the premisses are true, nor the sequell necessary. The premisses not true, for it is no where to be found that he appeared oftner on the first day, then any other of the week : it being said in holy Scripture, that he was seen of them by the space of forty dayes ; as much on one, as on another. His first appearing, after the night following his resurrection, which is particularly specified in the book of God, was when he shewed himself to Thomas, who before was absent. That the text tells us, was after eight dayes from

Act 1.3.

John 20.26.

from the time before remembred : which some conceive to be the eighth day after, or the next first day of the week ; & therupon conclude that day to be most proper for the congregations, or publick meetings of the Church. *Diem octauum Christus Thomae apparuit, Dominum diem esse necesse est*, as Saint Cyril hath it : *Iure igitur sancta congregations die octauo in Ecclesia finit*. But where the Greek Text reads it, *μεθ' οὐρανού, post octo dies* in the vulgar Latine, after eight dayes according to our English Bibles : that should be rather understood of the ninth or tenth, then the eighth day after ; and therefore could not be upon the first day of the week, as it is imagined. Now as the premisses are untrue, so the Conclusion is unfirme. For if our Saviours apparition unto his Disciples, were of it selfe sufficient to create a Sabbath : then must that day, whereon Saint Peter went on fishing, be a Sabbath also ; and so must holy Thursday too ; it being most evident that Christ appeared on thole dayes unto his Apostles. So that as yet, from our Redemeers resurrection unto his ascencion, we find not any word or Item of a new Christian Sabbath to be kept amongst them : or any evidence for the Lords Day in the four Evangelists, either in precept or in practice.

(5) The first particular passage which doth occurre in holy Scripture, touching the first day of the weeke, is that upon that day, the Holy Ghost did first come downe on the Apostles : and that upon the same Saint Peter preached his first Sermon unto the Jewes, and baptizid such of them as beleaved : there being added to the Church, that day, three thousand soules. This hapned on the Feast of Pentecost, which fell that yeare upon the Sunday, or first day of the weeke, as elsewhere the Scripture calls it : but as it was a speciall and a casuall thing, so can it yeeld but little proofe, if it yeeld us any, that the Lords Day was then obserued ; or that the Holy Ghost did by leaving of that day for his descent on the Apostles, intend

in John 20.26.
cap. 18.

John 21.8

to dignifie it for Sabbath. For first it was a casuall thing, that Pentecost should fall that yeaer upon the Sunday. It was a moveable Feast as unto the day, such as did change and shift it selfe, according to the position of the Feast of Passeover: the rule being this, that on what day loever, the second of the Passeover did fall; upon that also fell the great Feast of Pentecost. *Nam Hierosolimam semper eadem est feria, qua in diebus, non in diebus, sicut Scaliger hath rightly noted.* So that as often as the Passeover did fall upon the Saturday or Sabbath, as this yeaer it did; then Pentecost fell upon the Sunday: but when the Passeover did chance to fall upon the Tuesday, the Pentecost fell that yeaer, upon the Wednesday: & sic de ceteris. And if the rule be true, as I think it is, that no sufficient argument can be drawne from a casuall fact; and that the falling of the Pentecost, that yeaer, upon the first day of the weeke, be meerly casuall: the comming of the Holy Ghost upon that day, will be no argument nor authority, to state the first day of the weeke, in the place and honour of the Iewish sabbath. There may be other reasons given, why God made choice of that time, rather then of any other: as first because about that very time before, he had proclaimed the Law upon Mount Sinai; and secondly, that so hee might the better countenance and grace the Goffel, in the sight of men, and adde the more authority unto the doctrine of the Apostles. The Feast of Pentecost was a great and famous Festivall, at which the Iewes, all of them, were to come unto Hierusalens, there to appeare before the Lord: and amongst others, those which had their hands in our Saviours bloud. And therefore as S. Chrysostome notes it, did God send down the Holy Ghost, at that time of Pentecost; because those men that did consent to our Saviours death, might publickly receive rebuke for that bloody Act; and so beare record to the power of our Saviours Goffel, before all the World: *πειδετε τον θεον την παρωνταν αυτον, ινα*

ταυταν την παρωνταν αυτον, as that Father bath it. So that the thing being casuall, as unto the day; and speciall, as unto the busynesse then by God intended: it will afforde us little prooфе, as before I said, either that the Lords Day was, as then, observed; or that the Holy Ghost did select that day for so great a worke, to dignifie it for a sabbath.

(6) As for Saint Peters preaching upon that day, and the baptizing of so many, as were converted to the faith, upon the same: it might have been some prooфе, that now at least, if not before, the first day of the weeke was set apart by the Apostles for religious exercises: had they not honoured all dayes with the same performances. But if we learch the Scriptures we shall easily find that all dayes were alike to them, in that respect: no day, in which they did not preach the word of life, and administer the Sacraments of their Lord and Saviour, to such as either wanted it, or did desire it. Or were it that the Scriptures had not told us of it, yet naturall reason wculd informe us, that those who were employed in so great a worke, as the conversion of the World, could not confine themselues unto times and seasons; but must take all advantages, whensoere they came. But for the Scripture, it is said in termes expresse, first generally, that the Lord added daily to the Churche, such as should be saved; and therefore without doubt, the meanes of their salvation were daily ministred unto them: and in the fifth Chapter of the Acts, *αττικη 2.47.* that daily in the Temple, and in every house they ceased not *την παρωνταν αυτον, αττικη 4.2.* to teach and preach Iesus Christ. So for particulars, when Philip did baptize the Eunuch, either he did it on a working day, as we now distinguishe them, and not upon the first day of the weeke; and so it was no Lords day dutie: or else it was not held unlawfull, to take a journey on that day, as some thinke it is. Saint Peters preaching to Cornelius, and his baptizing of that houle, was a weeke dayes worke, as may be gathered from Saint Hierome. That Father telus us, that the day whereon the vision appeared to Peter, was probably the Sabbath, or the Lords Day.

Day, as we call it now; fieri potuit ut vel sabbatum esset, vel dies Dominicus, as the Father hath it: and ch. 10. you which you will, we shall find little in it, for. 1. if it were Sabbath. In case it was on the Sabbath, then Peter did not keep the Lords day, holy, as he should have done, in case, that day was then selected for Gods worship; for the Text tells us that the next day, he did begin his journey to Cornelius house. In case it was upon the Lords day, as wee call it now, then neither did Saint Peter sanctifie that day in the Congregation, as he ought to do, had that day then been made the Sabbath, and his conversion of Cornelius, being three dayes after, must of necessity be done on the Wednesday following. So that we find no Lords day Sabbath, either of S. Peters keeping, or of S. Philips: or else the preaching of the Word, and the administering the Sacraments, were not affixed at all unto the first day of the weeke, as the peculiar markes and characters thereof. So for Saint Paul, the Doctor of the Gentiles, who laboured more abundantly then the other Apostles, besides what shall be said particularly in the following section, it may appeare in generall, that hee observed no Lords-day-sabbath; but taught on all dayes, travailed on all dayes; and wrought according to his Trade, upon all dayes too, when he had no employment in the Congregation. That he did teach on all dayes, is not to be questioned, by any that considers how great a worke hee had to doe; and how little time. That hee did transale upon all dayes, is no lesse notorious, to all that looke upon his life, which was still in motion. And howsoever he might rest sometimes on the Lords Day, as questionlesse he did on others, as often as upon that day he preached the Gospel: yet when hee was a Prisoner in the hands of the Roman soldiers, there is no doubt, but that he travailed as they did Lords Dayes, and sabbaths, all dayes equally, many dayes together. Of this see what Saint Luke hath written in the last Chapters of the Acts. Lastly, for working at his Trade (which was Tent-making) on the Lords Day,

Advers levini.
an. 1. 2.

Act. 10. 24.

In Dominicam
27. post Trinit.

Day, as well as others, *Conradus Dietericus* proves it out of Hierome, that when hee had none unto whom to preach in the Congregation; hee followed on the Lords Day, the works of his Occupation. *Hieronymus colligit ex Act. 18. vers. 3. & 4. quod die etiam Dominica, quando, quibus in publico conventu concionaretur, non habebat, manibus suis laboravit.* So *Dietericus*, speaking of our Apostle. Now what is proved of these *Apostles*, and of S. Philip the *Evangelist*; may be affirmed of all the rest, whose lives and actions are not left upon record in holy Scripture. Their *Ministry* being the same, and their *worke* as great; no question but their *liberty* was correspondent: and that they tooke all times to be alike, in the advancing of the busynesse which they went about, and cherished all occasions presented to them, on what day soever. What further may be said hereof, in reference to Saint John who lived longest of them, and saw the Church established, and her publicke meetings in some order; we shall see hereafter in his owne place and time. Meant while we may conclude for certaine, that in the *preaching* of the Church he used all dayes equally, kept none more holy then another: and after, when the Church was settled, how ever he might keep this *holy*, and honour it for the use which was made therof; yet he kept other days, so used, as *holy*, but never any like a *sabbath*.

(7) Proceed wee next unto Saint Paul, in his particular; of whom the Scripture tells us more, then of all the rest: and wee shall finde, that hee no sooner was converted, but that forth-with hee preached in the *Synagogues*, that *Iesus was the Christ*. If in the *Synagogues*, most likely that it was on the *Jewish sabbath*: the *Synagogues* being destinate especially to the *sabbath dayes*. So after he was called to the publick Ministry, he came to *Antiochia*, and went into the *Synagogues* on the *subiunct day*, and there preached the Word. What was the issue of his sermon? That the Text informs us. And when the *Jewes* were gone out of the *Synagogues*.

Verse 41.

gogue, the Gentiles besought that these words might be preached againe the nexte sabbath. Saint Paul assented thereunto, and the next sabbath day, as the Text tells us, came almost the whole Citie together, to heare the Word of God. It seemes the Lords day was not growne as yet into any credit, especially not into the repute of the Iewish sabbath: for if it had, Saint Paul might easily have told these Gentiles, (that is, such Gentiles as had been converted to the Iewish Church) that the next day would be a more convenient time, and indeed *opus dei in die suo*, the doctrine of the resurrection on the day thereof. This hapned in the forty sixt yeaire of Christis Nativity; some twelue yeaires after his Passion and Resurrection: and often, after this, did the Apostle shew himselfe in the Iewish Synagogues, on the sabbath dayes; which I shall speake of here together, that so wee may go on unto the rest of this discourse, with lesse interruption. And first it was upon the Sabbath, that he did preach to the Philippians, and baptized Lydia with her household. *Acts 16.* Amongst the Theſſalonians, he reasoned three sabbath dayes together out of the Scriptures; *Acts 17.* At Corinth every sabbath day, with the Iewes and Greeks; *Acts 18.* besides those many texts of Scripture, when it is said of him that he went into the Synagogues, and therefore probably that it was upon the Sabbath, as before wee said. Note that Saint Paul was so affected to the Sabbath, as to preferre that day before any other: but that he found the people at those times assembled, and so might preach the Word, with the greater profit. Saint Chrysostome, for the Antientis hath resolved it so; *τὰς δὲ τῷ οὐλέατῷ εἰσῆλθεν καὶ πραγμάτην, ὅτι πάντες ἦσαν οὐελεγμένοι*, as the Father hath it. So Calvin, for the moderne Writers, makes this the speciall cause of Saint Pauls resort unto the places of assembly, on the Sabbath day, *quod profectum aliquem sperabat*; because in such concourse of people, he hoped the Word of God would find the better entertainment.

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Any thing rather to be thought, then that S. Paul who had withstood so stoutly those false Apostles, who would have circumcision and the law obtempered; when there was nothing publickly determined of it: would, after the decision of so great a Councel, wherein the Law of Moses was for ever abrogated, either himselfe obserue the Sabbath, for the Sabbath sake; or by his owne example teach the Gentiles how to Judaize, which he so blamed in S. Peter. The Sabbath with the legall ceremonies did receive their doome, as they related to the Gentiles, in that great Councell holden in Hierusalem: which though it was not untill after he had preached at Antiochia, on the Sabbath day, yet was it certainly before he had done the like, either at Philippos, Theſſalonica, or at Corinth.

(8) For the occasion of that Councell, it was briefly this. Amongst those which had joyned themselves with the Apostles, there was one Cerinthus; a fellow of a turbulent and unquiet spirit, and a most eager enemy of all those counsels, whereof himselfe was not the Author. This man had first begun a faction against S. Peter, for going to Cornelius, and preaching life eternall unto the Gentiles: and finding ill successe in that, goes downe to Antiochia, and there begins another against Saint Paul. This Epiphanius tells us of him, *εἰς τὸ διάτελον τὸ Αποστολον, ὁ τινος παρεγέλματος εἰργασθεὶς οὐδὲ τὸν αὐτὸν τὸν αὐτὸν Πέτρῳ επειδὴ εἰσῆλθε μετὰ Κορνελίου τὸν αὐτὸν*. The like Philaster doth affirme, *Seditionem sub Apostolis commovisse*, that he had raised a faction against the Apostles, which was not to be crushed but by an Apostolicall and generall Councell. This man and those that came downe with him, were so inamoured on the ceremonies and rites of Moses, that though they entertaind the Gospel, yet they were loath to leave the Law: and therefore did resolute, it seemes, to make a mixture out of both. Hence taught they, that *except all men were circumcised after the manner of Moses, they could not be saved*. Where note, that though they speake onely of circumcision, yet

Lib. I. ber. 28.
n. 2.De heret. in
Ceritho.

Act. 15. 10.

Acts 15.5.

Vers. 29.

Act. 16. 3.

In Act. 11. 25.

they intended all the law of sabbaths and other legall ordinances of what sort soever. *Docuit Cerinthus observationem legis Mosaica necessariam esse, circumcisum, & Sabbath a observanda*, as Philaster hath it. The like faith Calvin on the place, *Sola quidem circumcisione hic nominatur, sed ex contextu facile patet, eos de tota legle movisse controversiam*. The like Lorinus also amongst the Jesuites; *Nomine circumcisionis reliqua lex tota intelligitur*. Indeed the Text affirmes as much, where it is said in termes expresse, that they did hold it needfull to circumcise the people, and to command them to keepe the Law of Moses; whereof the Sabbath was a part. For the decision of this point, and the appeasing of those controversies which did thence arise, it pleased the Church directed by the holy Ghost, to determine thus; that such amongst the Gentiles as were converted to the faith, should not at all be burdened with the laws of Moses; but onely should observe some necessary things, viz. that they abstaine from things offered unto idols, and from blood, and that which is strangled, and from fornication. And here it is to be observed, that the decree or Canon of this Councell did onely reach unto the Gentiles: as is apparant out of the proeme to the Decretall, which is directed to the brethren which are of the Gentiles; and from the 21. Chapter of the Acts, where it is said, that as concerning the Gentiles which believe, we have written and determined, that they observe no such thing, as the law of Moses. So that for all that was determined in this Councell, those of the Jews which had embraced the faith of Christ, were not prohibited, as yet, to observe the Sabbath, and other parts of Moses law, as before they did: in which regard, S. Paul caused Timothie to be circumcised, because he would not scandalize and offend the Jews. The Jews were very much affected to their antient ceremonies: and Calvin rightly hath affirmed, *Correctionem, ut difficultera, ita subitam esse non posuisse*, that a full reformation of that zeale of theirs, as it was full of difficultie, so could it

conciliorum.
bus.

it not be done upon the sudden. Therefore it pleased the Angels, as it is conceived, in their fourth Councell holden at Hierusalem, mention whereof is made in the 21. of the Acts, to make it lawfull for the Jews to retaine circumcision and such legall rites, together with the faith in Christ: *Quamdui templum & sacrificia legis in Hierusalem stabant, as long as the Jewish Temple, and the legall sacrifices in Hierusalem, should continue standing*. Not that the faith of Christ was not sufficient of it selfe, for their salvation: *Sed ut mater. Synagoga paulatim cum honore sepeliretur*, but that the Synogogue might be layed to sleep, with the greater honour. But this, if so it was, was for no long time. For when the third Councell holden in Hierusalem against Cerinthus and his partie, was held in Ann. 51. and this which now we speake of, Ann. 58. the finall ruine of the Temple was in 72. So that there was but one and twenty yeares in the largest reckoning, wherein the Christian Jews were suffered to observe their Sabbath: and yet not (as before they did) as if it were a necessarie dutie; but as a thing indifferent onely. But that time come, the Temple finally destroyed, and the legall ceremonies therein buried: it was accounted afterwards both dangerous and hereticall, to observe the Sabbath; or mingle any of the Jewish leaven, with the bread of life. S. Hierome roundly so proclaines it, *Ceremonia Iudaorum & perniciosa & pestifera esse Christianis*: that all the Ceremonies of the Jews, whereof before he named the Sabbath to be one, were dangerous, yea and deadly too, to a Christian man; *Sive ex Iuda es, sive ex Gentibus*, whether he were originally of the Jews, or Gentiles. To which S. Austin gives allowance, *Ego hanc vocem tuam omnino confirmo*, in his reply unto Saint Hierome. That it was also deemed hereticall, to celebrate a Sabbath in the Christian Church, we shall see hereafter.

(9) In the meane time, we must proceed in search of the Lords day, and of the duties then performed: where-

of

of we can finde nothing yet, by that name at least. The Scripture tells us somewhat, that S. Paul did at Troas, upon the first day of the weeke: which happening much about this time, comes in this place to be considered. The passage in the Text stands thus: *Vpon the first day of the weeke when the disciples came together to brcake bread, Paul preached unto them ready to depart on the morrow, and continued his speech untill midnight.* Take notice here, that Paul had tarried there, *seven dayes*, before this happened. Now in this Text there are two things to be considered; first what was done upon that day; and secondly what day it was, that is there remembred. First for the action, it is laid to be *breaking of bread*: which some conclude, to be *administiring the Sacrament of the Lords Supper*; and *Pauls discourse* which followed on it, to be a *Sermon*. But sure I am Saint Chrysostome tells us plainly otherwise: who relates it thus. *et consueverat eiis discantum a se dñe, &c.* Their meeting at that time, saith he, *was not especially to receive instruction from Saint Paul, but to eare bread with him: and there, upon occasion given, he discoursed unto them.* See, saith the *Father*, *how they all made bold with S. Pauls table, as it had beene common to them all: and as it seemes to me, saith he, Paul sitting at the table did discourse thus with them.* Therefore it seemes by him, that as the meeting was at an ordinary supper; so the discourse there happening was no Sermon properly, but an occasionall dispute. *Lyra affirmes the same, and doth glosse it thus. They came together to brcake bread, i. e. saith he, Pro refectione corporali, for the refection and support of their bodies onely: and being there, Paul preached unto them, or as the Greeke and Latine have it, hee discoursed with them; prius eos reficiens pane verbi divini, refreshing of them first with the bread of life.* This also seemes to be the meaning of the *Church of England*, who in the margin of the Bible, allowed by Canon, doth referre us unto the second of the *Acts*, vers. 46, where it is said of the *disciples*

ACT 20.7.

In locum.

Canon 80.

disciples, that they did *breake their bread from house to house, and eate their meat together with joy and singlenesse of heart*: which plainly must be meant of ordinarie and common meats. *Calvin* not onely so affirmes it, but censures those who take it for the *holy Supper*. *Nam quod hic fractionem panis nonnulli interpretantur sacram coenam, alienum mihi videtur à mente Luca, &c.* as he there discourses. Then for the time, our *English* reades it upon the *first day of the weeke*, agreeable unto the *exposition of most ancient Writers, and the vulgar Latine*, which here as in the *four Evangelists*, doth call the *first day of the weeke, una Sabbathi*. Yet since the *Greeke* phrase is not so perspicuous but that it may admit of a various exposition, *Erasmus* renders it by *uno die sabbatorum, & quodam die sabbatorum*; that is, upon a certaine Sabbath: and so doth *Calvin* too, and *Pellican*, and *Gualter*, all of them noted men, in their translations of that Text. Nor do they onely so translate it, but frame their expositions also unto that translation; and make the day there mentioned, to be the *Sabbath*. *Calvin* takes notice of both readings, *Vel proximum sabbato diem intelligit, vel unum quodpiam sabbatum*, but approves the last, *Quod dies illa ad habendum conventum aprior fuerit*, because the *Sabbath day* was then most used, for the like assemblies. *Gualter* doth so conceive it also, that they assembled at this time *on the Sabbath day*, *Qui propter veterem morem hanc dubie tunc temporis celebrior habebatur*, as that which *questionlesse* was then of most repute, and name amongst them. So that the matter is not cleare, as unto the day, if they may judge it. But take it for the *first day of the weeke*, as the *English* reades it: yet doth S. *Austin* put a scruple, which may perhaps disturbance the whole expectation; though otherwise he be of opinion, that the *breaking of the bread* there mentioned, might have some reference or resemblance to the *Lords Supper*. Now this is that which S. *Austin* tells us. *Aut post peractum diem Sabbathi, noctis initio congregari*, *In 48. 2.* *Hom.* *Ep. 86.*

gati, quae utique nox ad diem Dominicum, b.c. ad unu Sab-
 " bate pertinebat, &c. Either, saith he, they were assem-
 " bled on the beginning of the night, which did imme-
 " diately follow the Sabbath day, and was to be accoun-
 " ted as a part of the Lords day, or first day of the week,
 " and breaking bread that night, as it is broken in the
 " Sacrament of the Lords bodie, continued his discourse
 " till midnight, *Ut lucecente proficeretur Dominica*
 " die, that so he might begin his journey, with the first
 " dawning of the Lords day, which was then at hand,
 " Or if they did not meet till the day it selfe, since it is
 " there expressed that he preached unto them being to
 " depart upon the morrow; we have the reason why he
 " continued his discourse so long: viz. because he was
 " to leave them, *Et eos sufficienter instruere cupiebat*,
 " and he desired to lesson them sufficiently, before he left
 them. So farre S. Austin. Chuse which of these you will,
 and there wil be but little found for sanctifying the Lords
 day, by Saint Paul, at *Troas*. For if this meeting were up-
 on Saturday night; then made Saint Paul no scruple of
 travailing upon the Sunday: or if it were on the Sunday,
 and that the breaking bread there mentioned were the ce-
 lebration of the Sacrament, (which yet Saint Augustine
 saith not in termes expresse but with a *sicut*) yet neither
 that, nor the discourse or sermon which was joyned unto
 it were otherwise then *occasionall onely*, by reason of S.
 Pauls departure on the morrow after. Therefore no Sab-
 bath or established day of publick meeting to be hence col-
 lected.

(10) This action of Saint Paul, at *Troas*, is placed by our Chronologers in *Anno 57* of our Saviours birth; and that yeare also did he write his first Epistle to the *Corinthians*: wherein amongst many other things, hee gives them this direction, touching collections for the poorer
 brethren at *Hierusalem*. Concerning the gathering for the
Saints, saith he, as I have ordained in the Churches of *Galatia*, so do ye also. And how was that? Every first day of
 the

the weeke let every one of you set aside, by himselfe, and lay
 up as God hath prospered him, that there be no gatherings
 when I come. This forme have made a principall argument,
 to prove the institution of the Lords day to be *Apostoli-
 call*: and *Apostolicall* though! should we grant it, yet cer-
 tainly it never can be proved so, from this Text of Scrip-
 ture. For what hath this to do with a *Lords-day* dutie,
 or how may it appeare from hence, that the *Lords day*
 was ordered by the *Apostles* to be weekly celebrated, in-
 stead of the now antiquated *Jewish Sabbath*: being an in-
 titution onely of *Saint Pauls* desire, to the particular
 Churches of the *Galatians* and *Corinthians*, what he
 would have them do in a particular and present case.
 Agabus had signified by the *Spirit*, that there should be a
 great dearth over all the world: and thereupon the *An-
 tiochians purposed to send relief unto the brethren which
 dwelt in *Iudea*. It is not to be thought that they made
 this collection, on the *Sunday* onely; but sent their com-
 mon bounties to them when and as often as they pleased
 Collections for the *poore*, in themselues considered, are no
Lords day duties; no duties proper to the day: and there-
 fore are not here appointed to be made in the *congrega-
 tion*, but every man is ordered to *lay up somewhat by him-
 selfe*, as it were in store, that when it came to a full round
 summe, it might be sent away unto *Hierusalem*: which
 being but a *particular case*, and such a case as was to end
 with the *occasion*; can be no *generall rule* for a *perpetuity*.
 For might it not fall out, in time, that there might be no
poore, nay no *Saints* at all, in all *Hierusalem*; as when the
 Towne was razed by *Adrian*, or after peopled by the *Sa-
 racens*? Surely if not before, yet then this dutie was to
 ceale, and no collection to be made by thole of *Corinth*:
 and consequently no *Lords day* to be kept amongst them,
 because no collection; in case collections for the *Saints*, as
 some do gather from this place, were a sufficient argu-
 ment to prove the *Lords day* institution by *divine auth-
 ority*. But let us take the Text with such observations, as
 have*

in locum.

have beene made upon it by the Fathers. Upon the first day of the weeke, i. e. as generally they conceive it, on the Lords day. And why on that? Chrysostome gives this reason of it, that so the very day might prompt them to be bountifull to their poore brethren, as being that day whereon they had received such inestimable bounties at the hands of God, in the resurrection of our Saviour. *Tα διαπομπή αρχαρια, καὶ οὐ πίστιν καὶ οὐ αρχὴ τῆς ζωῆς τῆς μαρτυρίας, τούτη γένεται: as that Father hath it.* What to be done on that day? *Vnuis quisque apud se reponat, Let every man lay by himselfe,* saith the Apostle. *in tunc, et sic tunc cura nostrarum cegeremus.* He saith not, saith S. Chrysostome, let every man bring it to the Church: And why? *Ινα μη δε το μηχανή αναγνωρισθει, for fear lest some might be ashamed at the smallnesse of their offering:* but let them lay it by, saith he, and adde unto it weeke, by weeke, that at my comming it may grow to a fit proportion. *That there be no gathering when I come,* but that the money may be ready to be sent away, immediately upon my comming: and being thus raised up by little and little, they might not be so sensible thereof, as if upon his comming to them, it were to be collected all at once, and upon the sudden. *vt paula in reservantes non una hora gravari se putent,* as S. Hierome hath it. Now as it is most cleare, that this makes nothing for the Lords day, or the translation of the Sabbath thereunto, by any Apostolical precept: so is it not so cleare, that this was done upon the first day of the weeke, but that some learned men have made doubt therof. Calvin upon the place, takes notice how S. Chrysostome expounds the *μιαωνας* of the Apostle, by *primo sabbati*, the first day of the weeke, as the English reade it: but likes it not, *Cui ego non assentior, as his phrase is,* conceiving rather this to be the meaning of S. Paul, that on some Sabbath day or other, until his comming, every man should lay up somewhat towards the collection. And in the second of his Institutes, he affirmes expressly, that the day deuinata by

in locum.

Cap 8 n. 33.

by Saint Paul to these Collections, was the Sabbath day. The like do Victorinus, Strigelius, Hunnius, and Arctius, Protestant Writers all, note upon the place. *Singulis sabbatis, saith Strigelius; per singulas sabbatas, so Arctius; diebus sabbatorum, saith Egidius Hunnius:* all rendring *καὶ μαρτυρίας, on the Sabbath dayes.* More largely yet, Hemingius, who in his Comment on the place, takes it indefinitely for any day in the week, so they fixed on one. *Vult enim ut quilibet certum diem, in septimana, constituant, in quo apud se seponat, quod irrogaturus est in pauperes.* Take which you will, either of the Fathers, or the Modernes, and we shall find no Lords Day instituted by any Apostolical Mandate, no Sabbath set on foot by them upon the first day of the weeke, as some would have it: much lesse that any such Ordinance should be hence collected, out of these words of the Apostle.

(11) Indeed it is not probable, that hee who so opposed himselfe against the old Sabbath, would erect a new. This had not been to abrogate the ceremony, but to change the day: whereas hee laboured, what he could to beat down all the difference of dayes and times, which had been formerly observed. In his Epistle to the Galatians, written in Anno 59, he layes it home unto their charge, that they observed dayes and moneths, and times, and years; and seemes a little to bewaile his own mistfortune, as if he had bestowed his labour in vain amongst them. I know it is conceived by some, that Saint Paul spake it of the observation of those dayes and times, that had been used among the Gentiles; and so had no relation to the Jewish Sabbath, or any difference of times observed amongst them. Saint Ambrose so conceived it, and so did Saint Augustine. *Dies observant, qui dicunt crastino non est proficiscendum, &c.* They observe dayes, who say, I will not goe abroad to morrow, or begin any worke upon such a day, because of some unfortunate aspect, as Saint Ambrose hath it, it seemes, Saint Augustine learnt it, who in his Epistle

Cap. 4 v. 10.

in locum.

Epistle directly falls upon the very same expression, *Eos inculpat qui dicunt, non proficisci quia posterus dies est, aut quia luna sic fertur; vel proficisci ut prospere cedar, quia ita se habet positio syderum, &c.* The like conceit he hath in his *Enchiridion, ad Laurentium, cap. 79.* But whatsoever S. Ambrose did, Saint Augustine lived, I am sure to correct his error: observing very rightly that his former doctrine could not consist with Saint Paul's purpose in that place, which was to beat down that esteemie which the *Iewes* had amongst them of the *Mosaicall Ordinances, their New-moons and Sabbaths.* I shall report the place at large for the better clearing of the point. *Vulgatissimus est Gentilium error, ut vel in agendis rebus, vel expectandis eventibus vita ac negotiorum suorum ab Astrologi & Chaldais notatos dies obseruent.* This was the ground whereon he built his former error. Then followeth the correction of it; *Fortasse tamen non opus est ut hac de Gentilium errore intelligamus, ne intentionem causa (mark that) quin ab exordio suscepitam ad finem usque perducit, subito in aliud temere detorquere velle videamur; sed de his pointis de quibus cavendis cum agere per totam Epistolam apparet.* *Nam & Inde si serviliter obseruant dies & menses & annos & tempora, in carnali observatione sabbati, & cœmenia, &c.* But yet perhaps, saith hee, it is not necessary that we should understand this of the *Gentiles* lest so we vary from the scope and purpose of the *Apostle*; but rather of those men, of the avoinding of whole Doctrines hee seemes to treat in all this Epistle, which were the *Iewes*: who in their carnall keeping of *New-moones and Sabbaths*, did obserue dayes and yeres, and times, as he here objecteth: Compare this with Saint Hieromes preface to the *Galathians*; and then the matter will be cleere; that Saint Paul meant not this of any *Heathenish*; but of the *Jewish* obseruation of dayes and times. So in the Epistle to the *Colossians*, writ in the fiftieth yere after Christ's Nativity, he layes it positively

Cap 8.n.33.

sitively downe, that the *Sabbath* was now abrogated with the other *ceremonies*, which were to vanish at Christ's comming. *Let no man judge you, saith the Apostle, in meat and drinke, or in respect of an holy-day, or of the New-moon, or of the Sabbath dayes, which are a shadow of things to come; but the body is of Christ.* In which the *Sabbath* is well matched with *meats & drinks, new-mones and holy-dayes*, which were all temporary ordinances, and to go off the stage at our Saviours entrance. Now whereas some, that would be thought great sticklers for the *Sabbath*, conceive that this was spoken, not of the *weekly moral Sabbath*, as they call it, which must be perpetuall; but of the *annall ceremonial Sabbath*, which they acknowledge to be abrogated: this new devise directly crosseth the whole current of the ancient Fathers who do apply this Text to the *weekly Sabbath*. It is sufficient in this point, to note the places. The Reader may peruse them, as leisure is, and looke on *Epiphan. lib. 1. ha- ref. 33. n. 11.* *Ambrose* upon this place. *Hieromes Epistle ad Algas. qu. 10. Chrysost. hom. 13. in Hebr. 7. August. cont. Iudeos cap. 2. & cont. Faust. Manich. l. 16. c. 28.* I end this list with that of *Hierome*, *Nulus Apostoli sermo est vel per Epistolam vel presentis, in quo non laborebat docere antiqua legis onera deposita, & omnia illa que in typis & imaginibus precessere, i.e. otium sabbati, circumcisio, injuriam, Kalendarum, & trium per annum solennitatum recursus, &c. gratia Evangelii subrepente, cessasse.* There is saith he, no Sermon of the Apostles, either delivered by Epistle, or by word of mouth, wherein he labours not to prove, that all the burdens of the Law, are now laid away; that all those things which were before in types and figures, namely, the *Sabbath, Circumcisio, the New-mones, and the three solemnne Festivals*, did cease upon the preaching of the *Gospel*.

(12) And cease it did upon the preaching of the *Gospel*; insensibly and by degrees, as before wee said:

Col. 2. 16.

Prefat. in Galat
Apocal. 10.

fore we said: not being afterwards observed as it had bin formerly, or counted any necessary part of Gods publick worship. Only some use was made thereof for the enlargement of Gods Church; by reason that the people had been accustomed to meet together on that day, for the performance of religious spirituall duties. This made it more regarded then it would have been, especially in the Eastern parts of *Greece* and *Afia*, where the *Provinciall Jewes* were somewhat thick dispersed: and being a great accession to the *Gospell*, could not so suddenly forsake their ancient customes. Yet so, that the *first day of the weeke*, began to grow into some credit, towards the ending of this Age: especially after the finall desolation of *Hierusalem* and the *Temple*, which hapned *Anno 72* of *Christ's Nativity*. So that the religious observation of this day beginning in the Age of the *Apostles*, no doubt but with their approbation and authoritie, and since continuing in the same respect for so many Ages; may be very well accounted amongst those *Apostolical traditions*, which have been universally received in the Church of God. For being it was the *day* which our *Redeemer* honoured with his *resurrection*, it easily might attain unto that esteemme, as to be honoured by the *Christians*, with the *publick meetings*: that so they might with greater comfort preserve and cherish the memoriall of so great a mercie; in reference unto which the *Worlds Creation* seemed not so considerable. By reason of which work wrought on it, it came, in time, to be entituled, *αρ̄τ̄ εξοχ̄*, the *Lords day*: which attribute is first found in the *Revelation*, writ by *Saint John*, about the 94 yeare of our *Saviours birth*. So long it was before wee finde the Church tooke notice of it by a proper name. For I perswade my selfe, that had that day been destinate, at that time, to religious duties; or honoured with the name of the *Lords day*, when *Paut* preached at *Troas*, or write to the *Corinthians*, which as before wee shewed was in the fifty

Apocal. 10.

levenith, neither *Saint Luke*, nor the *Apostle* had so passed it over, and called it onely the *first day of the weeke*, as they both have done. And when it had this attribute affixed unto it, it onely was *αρ̄τ̄ εξοχ̄*, as before we said, by reason, of our *Saviours resurrection* performed upon it: and that the *Congregation* might not be assembled, as well on them, as on the other. For first it was not called the *Lords Day* exclusively, but by way of *eminencie*, in reference to the *resurrection* onely: all other dayes being the *Lords*, aswell as this. *Prima sabbati significat diem Dominicum, quo Dominus resurrexit, & resurgendo isti seculo subvenit, mundumque ipso die creavit qui ob excellenciam sancti miraculi propriæ dies Dominica appellatur*, i.e. *dies Domini: quamvis omnes sunt Domini*. So *Brnno Herbipolensis* hath resolved it. And next, it was not so designed for the *publick meetings* of the *Church*, as if they might not be assembled, as well on *every day*, as this. For as *Saint Hierome* hath determined, *omnes dies equeales sunt, nec per parasceven tantum Christum crucifigi, & die Dominica resurgere, sed semper sanctum resurrectionis esse diem, & semper cum carne uesti Dominica*, &c. All dayes, are equall in themselves, as the Father tells us. *Christ was not crucified on the Friday onely, nor did he rise onely upon the Lords Day: but that wee may make every day, the holy-day of his resurrection; and every day eat his blessed body, in the Sacrament*. When therefore *certain days* were publickly assigned by *Godly men*, for the *assemblies* of the *Church*, this was done onely for their sakes, *qui magis seculo vacant quam Deo*, who had more minde unto the *World*, then to him that made it, and therefore either could not, or rather would not, every day assemble in the *Church* of God. Upon which ground, as they made choice of this, (even in the Age of the *Apostles*) for one, because our *Saviour* rose that day, from amongst the dead: so chose they *Friday* for another, by reason of our *Saviours passion*; and

Wednesday, on the which he had beeene betrayed: the Saturday, or ancient Sabbath, being mean-while retained in the Eastern Churches. Nay, in the primitive times, excepting in the heat of persecution, they met together every day, for the receiving of the Sacrament: that being fortified with that *viaticum*, they might with greater courage encounter death, if they chanced to meet him. So that the greatest honour, which in this Age was given the first day of the week, or Sunday, is that about the close thereof, they did begin to honour it with the name or title of the *Lords Day*; and made it one of those set dayes, whereon the people met together for religious exercises. Which their religious exercises when they were performed, or if the times were such that their assemblies were prohibited, and so none were performed at all: it was not held unlawfull to apply themselves unto their ordinary labours: as we shall see anon in the following Ages. For whereas some have gathered from this Text of the *Revelation*, from S. John being in the spirit on the *Lords Day*, as the phrase there is; that the *Lords Day* is wholy to be spent in spiritual exercises: that their conceit might probably have had some shew of likelihood, had it been said by the Apostle, that he had been in the spirit every *Lords Day*. But being, as it is, a particular case, it can make no rule, unleesse it be that every man on the *Lords Day*, should have dreames and visions, and be inspired that day with the spirit of prophecies: no more then it it had beeene told us upon what day Saint Paul had beeene rapt up into the third Heaven; every man should upon that day expect the like celestiall raptures. Adde here, how it is thought by some, that the *Lords Day* here mentioned, is not to bee interpreted of the first day of the weeke, as wee use to take it; but of the day of his last comming, of the day of judgement, wherein all flesh shall come together to receive their sentence: which being called the *Lords Day* too, in holy Scripture (that so the spirit may be saved in the day of the

the Lord, 1. Cor. 5. 5.) S. John might see it, being rapt in spirit, as if come already. But touching this we will not meddle; let them that owne it, looke unto it: rather since S. John hath generally beeene expounded in the other sence, by *Aretas* and *Andreas Casariensis* upon the place, by *Bede, de rat. temp. c. 6.* and by the suffrage of the Church the best expositour of Gods Word; wherein this day, hath constantly since the time of that *Apostle*, beeene honoured with that name above other dayes. Which day, how it was afterwards observed, and how farre different it was thought from a Sabbath day; the prosecution of this story will make cleare and evident.

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every labours; as we shall shew, whereas some have written, from S. John in the *Apocalypse*, that the *spirituall exercitie* should have had some by the *spirit of the Apostle*, that *Day*. But being, as it were, unlesse it be that *day* were *dreames and visions* upon what day *the spirit of prophete* was upon what day *the third Heaven*; every

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the Lord, 1. Cor. 5. 5.) S. John might see it, being *raspe in spirit*, as if come already. But touching this we will not meddle; let them that owne it, looke unto it: the rather since S. John hath generally beeene expounded in the other sence, by *Aretas* and *Andreas Casariensis* upon the place, by *Bede, de rat. temp. c. 6.* and by the suffrage of the *Church* the best expositour of Gods Word; wherein this day, hath constantly since the time of that *Apostle*, beeene honoured with that name above other dayes. Which day, how it was afterwards observed, and how farre different it was thought from a *Sabbath day*; the prolection of this story will make cleare and evident.

Irregular Pagination.

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Gomarus de
Sabbas, c.s.

the Lord, 1. Cor. 5.5.) S. John might see it, being rapt in spirit, as if come already. But touching this we will not meddle; let them that owne it, looke unto it: the rather since S. John hath generally beeene expounded in the other sence, by *Aretas* and *Andreas Casariensis* upon the place, by *Bede*, *de rat. temp. c. 6.* and by the suffrage of the *Church* the best expositour of Gods Word; wherein in this day, hath constantly since the time of that *Apostle*, beeene honoured with that name above other dayes. Which day, how it was afterwards observed, and how farre different it was thought from a *Sabbath day*; the prolation of this story will make cleare and evident.

C H A P. II.

In what estate the *Lords day* stood, from the death of the *Apostles*, to the reigne of *Constantine*.

(1) Touching the orders settled by the *Apostles*, for the *Congregation*. (2) The *Lords day* and the *Saturday*, both festivals, and both alike observed in the *East*, in *Ignatius time*. (3) The *Saturday* not without great difficulty, made a *fasting day*. (4) The *Controversie* about keeping *Easter*; and how much it conduceth to the present business. (5) The *feast of Easter* not affixed to the *Lords day*, without much opposition of the *Easterne Churches*. (6) What *Iustin Martyr*, and *Dionysius of Corinth*, have left us of the *Lords day*; *Clemens of Alexandria*, his dislike thereof. (7) Upon what grounds, the *Christians of the former times*, used to pray, standing, on the *Lords day*, and the time of *Pentecost*. (8) What is recorded by *Tertullian*, of the *Lords day*; and the assemblies of the *Church*. (9) *Origen*, as his master *Clemens* had done before, dislikes set *dayes* for the *assembly*. (10) *S. Cyprian* what he tells us of the *Lords day*: and of the reading of the *Scriptures* in *S. Cyprians time*. (11) Of other holy dayes, established in these three first ages; and that they were observed as solemnly as the *Lords day* was. (12) The name of *Sunday* often used for the *Lords day*, by the primitive *Christians*; but the *Sabbath* never.

(1)


 E shewed you in the former Chapter, what ever doth occurre in the *Acts* and *Monuments* of the *Apostles*, touching the *Lords day*, and the *sabbath*: how that the one of them was abrogated, as a part of the *Law of Moses*; the other rising by degrees

degrees from the ruines of it, not by *authoritie divine*, for ought appeares, but by *authoritie of the Church*. As for the duties of that day, they were most likely such, as formerly had beene used in the *Jewish Synagogues*: reading the *Law* and *Prophets* openly, to the *Congregation*, and afterwards expounding part thereof, as occasion was; calling upon the *Lord their God*, for the continuance of his mercies; and singing *Psalmes* and *Hymnes* unto him, as by way of *thankfullnesse*. Thele the *Apostles* found in the *Jewish Church*, and well approving of the same, as they could not otherwise, commended them unto the care of the *disciples*; by them to be observed, as often as they met together, on what day soever. First for the reading of the *law*, *Origen* saith exprely that it was ordered so by the *Apostles*, *In iacarum historiarum libris traditi sunt ab Apostolis legendi in Ecclesis*, as he there informes us. To this was joyned in tract of time, the reading of the *holy Gospell*, and other *Evangelicall* writings: it being ordered by *S. Peter*, that *S. Marks Gospell* should be read in the *Congregation*, as *Eusebius* tells us: and by *S. Paul*, that his *Epistle to the Thessalonians* should be read unto all the *holy brethren*; and also, that to the *Colossians*, to be read in the *Church of the Laodiceans*; as that from *Laodicea*, in the *Church of the Colossians*. By which example, not onely all the writings of the *Apostles*, but many of the writings of *Apostolicall men*, were publickly read unto the people: and for that purpose one appointed, to exercite the ministerie of a *Reader*, in the *Congregation*. So antient is the reading of the *Scriptures* in the *Church of God*. To this by way of *Comment* or *application*, was added as we finde by *S. Pauls directions*, the use of *prophecie* or *preaching*, *interpretation* of the *Scriptures*, to *edifying*, and to *exhortation*, and to *comfort*: this exercise to be performed with the *head uncovered*, as wel the *Preacher*, as the *hearer*. *Every man* *praying* or *prophesying* *with his head covered*, dishonoureth his *head*, as the *Apostle* hath informed us. Where we have *publicke* *prayers*

In Ios. hom 15.

Hist. 1.2. 15.

1. Thes. ca. ad. v. 17.

Ca. ult. v. 26.

1 Cor. 14. v. 30.

1. Cor. 11. 4.

1. Tim. 2.

1. Cor. 14.26.

Hist. li. 6. c 8.

prayers also for the Congregation: the Priest to offer to the Lord, the prayers and supplications of the people; and they to say *Amen* unto those prayers, which the Priest made for them. These to conteine in them all things necessarie for the Church of God, which are the subject of all *supplications, prayers, intercessions, and giving of thanks*: and to extend to all men also, especially unto Kings; and such as be in *authoritic*, that under them we may be godly and quietly governed, *leading a peaceable life in godlinesse and honestie*. For the performance of which last duties, with the greater comfort, it was disposed that *Psalmes* and *Hymnes* should be intermingled with the rest of the publicke service: which comprehending whatsoever is most excellent in the booke of God, and being so many notable formes of praise and prayer, were chearfully and unanimously to be sung amongst them. And thereupon *S Paul* reprehended those of *Corinth*, in that they joyn'd not with the assemblie, but had their *psalmes* unto themselves. Whereby it seemes that they had left the true use of *psalmes*, which being so many acclamations, exultations, and holy provocations, to give God the glory; were to be sung together by the whole assemblie: their singing at that time, being little more then a melodious kinde of pronuntiation, such as is commonly now used in singing of the ordinarie *psalmes* and prayers in *Cathedrall Churches*. And so it stood, till in the entrance of this age, *Ignatius* Bishop of *Antiochia*, one who was conversant with the *Apostles*, brought in the use of singing *alternatim*, course by course, according as it still continues in our publicke *Quires*, where one side answers to another: some shew whereof is left in *Parochiall Churches*, in which the Minister and the people answer one another, in their severall turnes. To him doth *Socrates* referre it, and withall affirmes that he first learn't it of the *Angels*, whom in a vision he had heard to sing the praise of God after such a manner: *καὶ ὅτανοις εἶδεν αὐγέλαν, οὐαὶ ἀνηφόνων ὑμῶν τινῶν οὐδὲν τελεῖται ὑμεῖς τοις, as that Author hath*

Hist. li. 2 c. 24.
In Damaso.

hath it. And where *Theodoret* doth referre it to *Flavianus* and *Diodorus* Priests of *Antiochia*, during the bustlings of the *Arian Hereticks*; and *Platina* unto *Damasus* Pope of *Rome*: *Theodoret* is to be interpreted of the resti-tution of this custome, having beene left off; and *Platina*, of the bringing of it into the *Westerne Churches*. For that it was in use in *Ignatius* time, (who suffered in the time of *Trajan*) and therefore probablie began by him, as is said by *Socrates*; is evident by that which *Plinic* signified to the selfe same *Trajan*; where he informes him of the *Christians*, *Quod soliti essent statu die ante lucem convenire, carmenque Christo, tanquam Deo, dicere, secum invicem, &c.* Their greatest crime, said he, was "this, that at a certaine day, (but what that day was "that he tells not) they did meet together before day-light; and there sing hymnes to *Christ* as unto a God, "one with another in their courses: and after binde them-selves together by a common *Sacrament*, not unto any "wicked or unjust attempt, but to live orderly without "committing robberie, theft, adulterie, or the like of-fences.

(2) Now for the day there meant by *Plinic*, it must be *Saturday* or *Sunday*, if it were not both: both of them being in those times, and in those parts where *Plinic* li-ved, in especial honour; as may be gathered from *Ignatius* who at that time flourished. For demonstration of the which, we must first take notice, how that the world as then, was very full of dangerous fancies, and hereticall dotages: whereby the *Church* was much disquieted, and Gods worship hindred. The *Ebionites*, they stood hard for the *Jewissh Sabbath*, and would by all meanes have it celebrated, as it had beone formerly: observing yet the *Lords day*, as the *Christians* did, in honour of the *resurrection* of our Lord and Saviour. *Καὶ τὸ μὲν οὐατατὸν, καὶ τὸ λεσχελὺν αὐγέλων οὐοις ἐνείρεις παρεγενέσθον. ταῦς δὲ κυριακῆς οὐαίρεις οὐαὶ τὰ παρεγένοντα εἰς μηνύμιον τὰς σωτηρίας αναγένεταις, as Eusebius tells. The like faith Epiphanius*

Hist. li. 3 c. x 3.

niaw of them, l. 1. *Herof.* 30. n. 2. And on the other side, there was a sort of Hereticks in the *Easterne* parts, (whereof see *Irenaeus* l. 1. ca. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. & 25.) who thought that this world being corruptible, could not be made but by a very evill Author. Therefore as the *Jews* did by the festivall solemnitie of their *Sabbath*, rejoyce in God that created the world, as in the Author of all goodnessse; so they in hatred of the maker of the world, sorrowed, and wept, and fasted on that day, as being the birth-day of all evill. And whereas *Christian* men of sound heleefe, did solemnize the *Sunday* in a joyfull memorie of *Christ's resurrection*: so likewise at the selfe same time, such *Hereticks* as denied the *resurrection*, did contrary to them that held it; and fasted, when the rest rejoiced. For the expressing of which two last heresies, it was, that he affirmed with such zeale and earnestnesse, *is n̄s κυριακὴ, οὐ κατατάσσειν, τὸν ἡρόν κατατάσσειν καὶ κατατάσσειν οὐδεν*. If any one did fast either upon the *Lords day* or the *sabbath*, except one *sabbath* in the yeare, (which was *Easter Eve*) he was a murderer of *Christ*. So he in his Epistle ad *Philippenses*. The *Canons* attributed to the *Apostles*, take notice of the *misdemeanour*, though they condemne it not, with so high a censure: it being in them onely ordered, that if a *Clergie*-man offended in that kinde, he should be degraded; *εἰ δὲ λαοῦ, δροῦσάω, οὐδεν*, if any of the *Laitie*, they should be excommunicated. Which makes me marvell, by the way, that those which take such paines to justifie *Ignatius*, as *Baronius* doth, in Ann. 57. of his *Grand Annales*: should yet condemne this *Canon*, of imposture, which is not so severe as *Ignatius* is, onely because it speakes against the *Saturday*-days fast. Whereof consult the *Annales* Ann. 102. Now as *Ignatius* labours here, to advance the *sabbath*, in opposition of those hereticks before remembred, making it equally a festivall with the *Lords day*: so being to deale with those, which too much magnified the *sabbath*, and thought the *Christians* bound unto it, as the *Jews* had beene;

Ignat.

Can. 65.

beene; he bends himselfe another way, and resolves it thus. *Μηκέτι εἰ κατατάσσειν οὐδεν*. *Ιατρίως. οὐδεποτε καίεσθε, &c.* " Let us not keep the *Sabbath* in a *Jewish* manner, in sloth and idlenesse, for it is written, that *he that will not labour shall not eat*, and *in the sweat of thy brows shalt thou eat thy bread*. But let us keepe it after a spirituall fashion, not in bodily ease, but in the studie of the law: " not eating meat drest yesterday, or drinking luke-warme drincks, or walking out a limited space, or letting our delights, as they did, on dancing; but in the contemplation of the works of *God*. *Καὶ οὐ τὸ καθαρισμόν, εἰ πλάγη τὸς εἰλόχειτος τὸν κυριακὸν, τὸν διαγόμον, τὸν βαπτιστὸν, τὸν ὑπαντὸν τὸν πατρὸν ἡμερῶν, &c.* And after we have so kept the *sabbath*, let every one that loveth *Christ*, keep the *Lords day* festival, the *resurrection day*, the *Queene* and *Empresse* of all dayes; in which our life was raited againe, and death was overcome by our *Lord* and *Saviour*. So that we see, that he would have both dayes observed: the *Sabbath* first, though not as would the *Ebionites*, in a *Jewish* sort; and after that the *Lords day*, which he so much magnifieth, the better to abate that high esteeme, which some had cast upon the *Sabbath*. Agreeable unto this we finde that in the *Constitutions* of the *Apostles*, for by that name they passe, though not made by them, both dayes are ordered to be kept *holy*, one in memoriall of the *Creation*, the other of the *Resurrection*. *τὸ κατατάσσειν οὐδεν, τὸν κυριακὸν ἡστατέσθε, οὐ τὸ μηδιμναπικας εἰτιανημα, οὐ διαβασινως*. See the like l. 8. c. 33. of which more hereafter.

(3) And so it was observed in the *Easterne* parts, where those of the *dispersion* had tooke up their seats; and having long time had their meetings on the *Sabbath day*, could not so easily be perwaded from it. But in the *Westerne Churches*, in the which the *Jews* were not so considerable, and where those hereticks before remembred, had beene hardly heard of, it was plainly otherwise: that day not onely not being honoured with their publicke

liche meetings, but destinate to a settled or a constant fast. Some which have looked more nearely into the reasons of this difference, conceive that they appointed this day for fasting, in memory of Saint Peter's conflict with *Simon Magus*, which being to be done on a *Sunday* following, the *Church of Rome* ordained a solemn fast on the day before, the better to obtaine Gods blessing in so great a busynesse: which falling out as they desired, they kept it for a fasting day for ever after. Saint *Austin* so relates it, as a generall and received opinion, but then he addes, *Quod eam esse falsam perhibeant plerique Romani*; That very many of the *Romans* did take it onely for a table. As for Saint *Austin*, he conceives the reaon of it, to be the severall uses which men made of our Saviours resting in the grave, the whole *Sabbath* day. For thence it came to passe, saith he, that some, especially the *Easterne* people, *Ad requiem significandam vallen relaxare jejunium*, to signifie and denote that rest, did not use to fast: where on the other side, those of the *Church of Rome* and some *Westerne Churches*, kept it always fasting, *Propter humanitatem mortis Domini*, by reason that our Lord, that day, lay buried in the sleepe of death. But as the Father comes not home unto the reason of this usage, in the *Easterne* countries; so in my minde, Pope *Innocent* gives a likelier reason for the contrary custome, in the *Westerne*. For in a *Decretall* by him made touching the keeping of this Fast, he gives this reason of it unto *Desentius Eugubinus* who desired it of him; because that day and the day before, were spent by the *Apostles* in griefe and heaviness. *Nam constat Apostolos biduo isto & in mortore fuisse, & propter metum Iudeorum se occuluisse*, as his words there are. The like saith *Platina*, that *Innocentius* did ordaine the *Saturday* or *Sabbath* to be alwayes fasted, *Quod tali die Christus in sepulchro jacuisset, & quod discipuli eius jejunaissent*, Because our Saviour lay in the grave that day, and it was fasted by his *disciples*. Not that it was not fasted before *Innocents* time, as some vainely thinke: but

Council. Tom. 1.

In *Innocent.*

but that being formerly an arbitrary practice only, it was by him intended for a binding Law. Now as the *African* and the *Westerne Churches* were severally devoted either to the *Church of Rome*, or other Churches in the *East*: so did they follow in this matter, of the *Sabbaths fast*, the practice of those parts, to which they did most adhere. *Millaine* though neere to *Rome*, followed the practice of the *East*: which shewes how little power the *Popes* then had even within *Italie* it selfe. *Paulinus* tels us also of *S. Ambrose*, that he did never use to dine, *nisi die sabbati & Dominico, &c.* but on the *Sabbath*, the *Lords day*, and on the Anniversaries of the *Saints and Martyrs*. Yet so, that when he was at *Rome*, hee used to doe as they there did, submittting to the orders of the *Church* in the which hee was. Whence that so celebrated speech of his, *Cum hic sum, non jejuno sabbato; cum Roma sum jejuno sabbato*: at *Rome* he did; at *Millaine* he did not fast the *Sabbath*. Nay, which is more, Saint *Augustine* tels us, that many times in *Africa*, one and the selfe *Church*, at least the severall *Churches* in the self-same *Prouince*, had some that dined upon the *Sabbath*; and some that fasted. And in this difference it stood a long time together, till in the end the *Romane Church* obtained the cause, and *Saturday* became a fast, almost through all the parts of the *Western* world. I say the *Westerne* world, and of that alone: The *Easterne* *Churches* being so farre from altering their ancient custome, that in the fixt *Councell of Constantinople*, Anno 692, they did admonish those of *Rome* to fordeare fasting on that day, upon paine of censures. Which I have noted here, in its proper place, that we might know the better how the matter stood betweene the *Lords Day*, and the *Sabbath*; how hard a thing it was for one to get the mastery of the other: both dayes being in themselves indifferent for sacred uses; and holding by no other tenure, then by the *courtesie of the Church*.

(4) Much of this kinde was that great conflict between

Invita Amb. 1.

Epis. 85.

Lib. 5. c. 26.

tween the *East* and *Westerne* Churches, about keeping *Easter*: and much like conduced, as it was maintained, unto the honour of the *Lords Day*, or neglect thereof. The *Passcover* of the *Jewes*, was changed in the *Apostles* times, to the *Feast of Easter*; the anniversary memorall of our Saviours *resurrection*: and not changed onely in their times, but by their authoritie. Certain it is that they observed it, for *Polycarpus* kept it, *τῇ Κυριακῇ τῇ οὐρανῷ αὐτοῦ*, both with *Saint John*, and with the rest of the *Apostles*, as *Irenaeus* tells us in *Eusebius* History. The like *Polycrates* affirms of *Saint Philip* also; whereof see *Euseb. l. 5. c. 14.* Nor was the difference which arose in the times succeeding, about the *Festivall* it selfe; but for the time, wherein it was to be observed. The *Westerne* Churches following the custome of *Hierusalem*, kept it directly at the same time, the *Jewes* did their *Passcover*: and at *Hierusalem* they so kept it (the Bishops there for fifteene severall iuccessions, being of the *Circumcision*) the better to content the *Jewes*, their brethren, and to winne upon them. But in the Churches of the *West*, they did not celebrate this *Feast decima quarta luna*, upō what day soever it was, as the others did; but on some *Sunday* following after: partly in honour of the day; and partly to expresse some difference, between *Jewes* and *Christians*. A thing of great importance in the present case. For the *Christians* of the *East* reflected not upon the *Sunday* in the *Annually* returne of so great a *Feast*; but kept it on the fourteenth day of the moneth, be it what it will: it may be very strongly gathered, that they regarded not the *Lords Day* so highly, which was the weekly memory of the *resurrection*, as to preferre that day before any other, in their publick meetings. And thereupon *Baronius* pleads it very well, that certainly *Saint John* was not the *Authour* of the contrary practice, as some gave it out.

“ *Nam quenam potuit effratio, &c.* For what, saith he, “ might be the reason, why in the *Revelation*, he should

“ make

Annal. An. 159.

“ make mention of the *Lords Day*, as a day of note, and “ of good credit in the *Church*, had it not got that name “ in reference to the *resurrection*. And if it were thought fit by the *Apostles*, to celebrate the weekly memory thereof, upon the *Sunday*: then to what purpose should “ they keepe the Anniversary, on another day? And so farre questionlesse we may joyne issue with the *Cardinal*, that either *Sunday* is not meant in the *Revelation*; or else *Saint John* was not the *Authour* of keeping *Easter*, with the *Jewes*, on what day soever. Rather we may conceive that *Saint John* gave way unto the current of the times, which in those places, as is said, were much intent upon the customes of the *Jewes*: most of the *Christians* of those parts, being *Jewes* originally.

(5) For the composing of this difference, and bringing of the *Church* to an uniformity, the *Popes* of *Rome* bestirred themselves; & so did many others also. And first *Pope Pius* publisheth a declaration, *Passcha domini die dominica, annuis solennitatibus celebrandum esse*, that *Easter* was to be solemnized on the *Lords day* onely. And here, although I take the words of the *letter directory*; yet I reliue rather upon *Eusebius* for the authority of the fact, then on the *Decretall* it selfe, which is neither the substance probable, and the date starke false; not to be trusted; there being no such *Consuls*, it is *Crabbes* owne note, as are there set downe. But the *Authoritie* of *Pope Pius* did not reach so farre as th *Asian* Churches: and therefore it produced an effect accordingly. This was 159. and seven yeares after, *Polycarpus*, Bishop of *Smyrna*, a *Reverend* and an *holy man*, made away to *Rome*; *die 70 Κηπηα τηει & κατη τη Ναρα εινειας*, then to conferre with *Anicetus*, then the *Roman Prelate*, about this busynesse. And though one could not woce the other to desert the cause; yet they communicated together, and so parted Friends. But when that *Blastus* afterwards had made it necessary, which before was arbitrary; and taught it to be utterly

C. m. T. m. 1.

in Chronic.

Euseb. hist. l. 4. c. 13.

D d

L.4.C.25.

Euseb. 1.5.C.23,
24.

utterly unlawfull, to hold this Feast at any other time, then the Jewish *Passeover*, becomming so the Author of the *Quarto decimani*, as they used to call them: then did both *Eleutherius* publish a *Decree*, that it was onely to be kept upon the *Sunday*; and *Irenaeus*, though otherwise a peaceable man, write a Discourse entituled, *De schismate contra Blastum*, now not extant. A little before this time (this hapned Anno 170) the controversie had tooke place in *Laodicea*; εγένετο γάρ τότε ἡ λαοδικεία περὶ Πάσχα, as *Eusebius* hath it: which mooved *Melito* Bishop of *Sardis*, a man of speciall eminence, to write two Books *de Paschate*, and one *de die Dominico*, περὶ των Κυριακῶν. But to what side he took, it is hard to say. Were those discourses extant, as they both are lost, wee might, no doubt, finde much that would conduce to our present businesse. Two yeares before the close of this second century, Pope *Victor*, presuming probably on his name, sends abroad his *Mandate*, touching the keeping of this Feast on the *Lords Day* onely: against the which, when as *Polycrates* & other *Asian* Prelates had set out their *Maniffts*, he presently without more ado, declares them all for *excommunicato*. But when this rather hindred, then advanced the cause, the *Asian* Bishops caring little for those *Bratia sublumina*; and *Irenaeus*, who held the same side with him, having perswaded him to mildercourses: he went anotherway to work by practising with the Prelates of severall *Churches*, to end the matter in particular *Councils*. Of these, there was one held at *Ostroena*, another by *Bacchylus* Bishop of *Corinth*; a third in *Gaul* by *Irenaeus*, a fourth in *Pontus*, a fifth in *Rome*, a sixt in *Palestine* by *Theophilus* Bishop of *Cesaria*; the Canons of all which were extant in *Eusebines* time: and in all which it was concluded for the *Sunday*. By means of these *Synodicall determinacions*, the *Asian Prelates* by degrees let fall their rigour, and yeelded to the stronger and the surer side. Yet waveringly and with some relapses, till

the

the great Councell of *Nice*, backed with the authority of as great an Emperour, settled it better then before: none but some scattered Schismaticks, now and then appearing, that durst oppose the resolution of that famous Synod. So that you see, that whether you looke upon the day appointed for the *Jewish Sabbath*, or on the day appointed for the *Jewish Passeover*; the *Lords day* found it no small matter to obtaine the victorie. And when it had prevailed so farre, that both the *Feast of Easter* was restrained unto it; and that it had the honour of the *publick meetings* of the *Congregation*: yet was not this, I mean this last, exclusively of all other dayes; the former *Sabbath*, the fourth and sixt dayes of the week, having some share therein for a long time after, as wee shall see more plainly in the following *Centuries*.

(6) But first to make an end of this: this *Centurie* affords us three particular writers that have made mention of this day. First, *Justin Martyr*, who then lived in *Rome*, doth thus relate, Χριστός ἡμέρα κοινῆ παντες την Κυριακην ποιεῖται, &c. Vpon the *Sunday* all of us assemble in the *Congregation*: as being that first day wherein God separating the light and darknesse, did create the world; and *Jesus Christ* our Saviour rose againe from the dead. This for the day; then for the service of the day, he describes it thus. Vpon the day called *Sunday*, all that abide within the *Cities* or about the *fields*, doe meet together in some place, where the records of the *Apostles*, and writings of the *Prophets*, as much as is appointed, are read unto us. The *Reader* having done, the *Priest* or *Prelate* ministreth a word of exhortation, that we do imitate those good things which are there repeated. Then standing up together, we send up our prayers unto the *Lord*; which ended, there is delivered unto every one of us, bread, and wine with water. After all this the *Priest* or *Prelate* offers up our prayers and thanksgiving as much as in him is, to *God*; and all the

people say Amen : those of the richer sort, *ταῦτα καὶ ταῖς οὐρανοῖς*, every man as he would himselfe, contributing something towards the relief of the poorer brethren ; which after by the Priest or Prelate was disposed amongst them. A forme of service not much different from that in the Church of England, save that we make the entrance unto our *Εὐαγγελίον*, with some preparatory prayers. The rest consisting as we know, of *Psalmes*; and severall readings of the Scriptures, out of the Old Testament and the New, the Epistles and the holy Gospell : that done, the Homily or Sermon followeth, then Offerance next, then prayers and after that the Sacrament ; and then prayers againe, the people being finally dismissed with a Benediction. The second testimony of these times is that of *Dionysius Bishop of Corinth*, who lived about 175, some nine years after *Justin Martyr* wrote his last *Apologie* : who in an Epistle unto *Saint Pope of Rome*, doth relate it thus. *Επιστολὴ εὐαγγελικὴ πρὸς τὸν Πάπα τοῦ Ρωμαίων, εἰς ἡγεμονίαν τοῦ Ιωάννου τοῦ Αποστόλου, &c.* To day, saith he, wee kept holy the Lords day, wherein we reade the Epistle which you writ unto us, which we do alwayes reade for our instruction, is also the first Epistle writ by *Clemens*. Where note, that not the Scriptures onely were in those times read publickly in the Congregation, but the Epistles and Discourses of such learned men, as had been eminent for place and pietie : as in the next times, on defect of Sermons, it was the custome of the Church, to read the Homilies of the Fathers, for their edification. Concerning which it was ordained in a Councill at *Vaux*, Anno 444, that if the Priest were sick, or otherwise infirme so that he could not preach himselfe, the Deacons should reherse some Homily of the holy Fathers. *Si presbyter aliqui infirmitate prohibenter, per scriptum non potest predicare, sanctiorum Patrum homilia a Diaconibus recitetur;* so the Councell ordered it. The third and last Writer of this Century, which gives us any thing of the Lords day, is

Euseb. I. 4. c. 22.

Conciliorum
Tom. 1.

Sirom. 1. 7.

Clemens Alexandrinus, (he flourished in the yeare 190:) who though hee fetch the pedigree of the *Lords Day*, even as farre as *Plato* which before wee noted ; yet hee seemes well enough contented, that the *Lords Day* should not be observed at all. *Σεβεῖν δὲ δεῖν εὐχελόνεστα* “ *καὶ πρῶτον πάντας*, We ought, saith he, to honour and “ to reverence him, whom wee are verily perswaded to “ be the word, our Saviour, and our Captaine ; and in “ him the Father : *εἰς τὸν εὐαγγέλιον οὐ περ ἀλλοι πάτερ*, “ not in selected times, as some doe amongst us, but al- “ ways during our whole lives, and on all occasions. “ The Royall Prophet tells us that he prayed God seven “ times a day. Whence hee that understands himselfe, “ stands not upon determinate places, or appointed Tem- “ ples, *εἰς ποτὰς τινὰς καὶ ἡμέρας αὐτοτελεύτας*, “ much lesse on any Festivals, or dayes assigned; but in all “ places honours God, though he be alone. And a little “ after, *Πλάντα τοῖον τὸν βίον τὸν πάπτεις, &c.* making our “ whole lives a continuall Festivall, and knowing God “ to be every where, wee prayse him sometimes in the “ fields, and sometimes sailing on the Seas, and finally in “ all the times of our life what ever. So in another place “ of the self-same book, *ἔτος εὐτολήν τὸν εὐαγγέλιον*, “ *διαδεξαμένος, &c.* He that doth lead his life according “ to the ordinances of the *Gospel*, *κυριακὴν τὸν εἰρήνην ποιεῖ*, “ then keeps the *Lords Day*, when he casts away every “ evill thought, and doing things with knowledge and “ understanding, doth glorifie the Lord in his resurrec- “ tion. By which it seemes, that whatsoever estimation “ on the *Lords Day* had attained unto, at *Rome*, and *Co-* “ *rinth* : yet either it was not so much esteemed at *Alex-* “ *andria*, or else this *Clemens* did not thinke so rightly of it, as he should have done.

(7) Now in the place of *Justin Martyr* before remembred, there is one speciall circumstance to be confi- red, in reference to our present search : for I say nothing here of mingling water with the Wine, in the holy Sa- cra-

Reprob. qu. 105
Cap. 20.

crament, as not conducing to the busynesse which wee have in hand. This is, that in their *Sundayes service*, they did use to stand, during the time they made their *prayers unto the Lord*: *επιτελεσθαι κοντην προσευχην*, *κατευχην προσευχην*, as his words there are. Such was the custome of this time, and a long time after; that though they kneeled on other dayes, yet on the *Lords day* they prayed alwayes standing. Yet not upon the *Lords day* onely, but every day from *Easter* unto *Pentecost*. The reason is thus given by him who made the *Reffonsions* ascribed to *Justin*; that so
 " faith he, we might take notice, as of our fall by sin, so of
 " our restitution by the grace of Christ. Six dayes we pray
 " upon our knees, and thatts in token of our fall: *παντες κατευχην μην προσευχην γονων, απομονων εστιν την αναστασιν*, &c.
 " But on the *Lords Day* wee bow not the knee in token
 " of the Resurrection; by which according to the Grace
 " of Christ, wee are set free from sinne, and the powers
 " of death. The like saith he, is to be said of the dayes of
Pentecost, which custome as he telts us, and cites *Irenaeus* for his Authour, did take beginning even in the times of the *Apostles*. Rather wee may conceive that they used this Ceremony, to testifie their faith in the *resurrection* of our Lord and Saviour; which many *Hereticks* of those times did publickly gain-say, as before we noted, and shall speak more thereof hereafter. But whatsoever was the reaon, it continued long; and was confirm'd particularly by the great *Synod of Nice*, what time some people had begun to neglect this custome. The *Synod* therefore thus determined, *Επειδη τινες εισιν ει την κατευχην γονων προσευχην, &c.* that forasmuch as some did use to kneele on the *Lords Day*, and the time of *Pentecost*, that all things, in all places, might be done with an uniformity, it pleased the holy *Synod* to decree it thus; *επειδη τις ευχαις ανοικουσιν την θεων*, that men should stand, at those times, when they made their *prayers*. For Fathers which avow this custome, consult *Tertullian*, *lib. de corona mil. S. Basil. de Sp. S. c. 27. S. Hierom. adv. Luciferian. S. Austin. Epist.*

pist. 118. S. *Hilaries Prefat. in Psalm. Ambros. Serm.* 62, and divers others. What time this custome was laid by, I can hardly say: but sure I am it was not layed aside in a long time after; not till the time of Pope *Alexander the third*, who lived about the yeare 1160. For in a *Decretall* of his, confirmatorie of the former custome; it was prohibited to *kneele* on the times remembred; *Nisi aliquis ex devotione id vellet facere in secreto*, unlesse some out of poore devotion, did it secretly. Which dispensation probablie occasioned the neglect thereof, in the times succeeding: the rather since those hereticks who formerly had denied the resurrection, were now quite exterminated. This circumstance we have considered the more at large, as being the most especiall difference, whereby the *Sundayes service* was distinguished from the *weeke-dayes* worship, in these present times whereof we write. And yet the difference was not such, but that it was proper to the *Lords day* onely: but, if it were a badge of honour, communicated unto more then forty other dayes: of which more anon. But being it was an Ecclesiasticall and occasionall custome; the Church which first ordained it, let it fall againe by the same authoritie.

(8) In the third *Centurie*, the first we meete with is *Tertullian*, who flourished in the very first beginnings of it: by whom this day is called by three severall names. For first he cals it *Dies solis*, *Sunday*, as commonly we now call it; and saith, that they did dedicate the same unto mirth and gladnesse; not to devotion altogether: *Diem solis latitiae indulgemus*, in his *Apologick*. The same name is used by *Justin Martyr* in the passages before remembred: partly because being to write to an heathen *Magistrate*, it had not beeene so proper, to call it by the name of the *Lords day*, which name they knew not; and partly that delivering the forme and substance of their service done upon that day, they might the better quit themselves, from being worshippers of the *Sonne*, as the *Gentiles* thought. For by their meetings on this day for

Cap. 16.

De Idolat. c 14.

De corona mil.
c. 3.

Apoc. 39.

religious exercises, in greater numbers, then on others, in Africke and the West especially; and by their use of turning towards the *East*, when they made their prayers, the world was sometimes so perswaded. *Inde suspicio, quod innotuerit nos ad Orientis regionem precari*, as he there informedus. Whereby we may perceive of what great antiquitie that custome is, which is retained in the *Church of England*, of bowing, kneeling, and adoring towards the *Eastern* parts. The second name by which *Tertullian* calls this day, is the *eight day* simply; *Ethnicus sensel annus dies quisquis festus est, tibi octavo quoque die*. The third is, *Dies Dominicus*, or the *Lords day*, which is frequent in him, as, *Die Dominico ieiunium nefas ducimus*, we hold it utterly unlawful to fast the *Lords day*, of which more hereafter. For their performances in their publicke meetings he describes themthus. *Coimus in cætum & con-*
 " *gregationem, &c.* We come together into the assem-
 " *blie or congregation, to our common prayers, that*
 " *being banded as it were in a troope or Armie, we may*
 " *besiege God with our petitions. To him such violence*
 " *is exceeding gratefull. It followeth, Cogimus ad sacra-*
 " *rum lit. commemorationem, &c.* We meet to heare the
 " *holy Scriptures rehearsed unto us, that so according to*
 " *the qualitie of the times, we may either be premonish-*
 " *ed, or corrected by them. Questionlesse by these holy*
 " *speeches our faith is nourished, our hopes erected, our*
 " *assurance settled: and notwithstanding by inculcating*
 " *the same, we are the better established in our obedience*
 " *to Gods precepts. A little after, President probat quinque*
 " *seniores, &c.* Now at these generall meetings, some
 " *Priests or Elders do preside, which have attained unto*
 " *that honour not by money, but by the good report*
 " *that they have gotten in the Church. And if there be*
 " *a poore-mans Boxe, every one cast in somewhat men-*
 " *strua die, at least once a moneth, according as they*
 " *would, and as they were able. Thus he describes the*
 " *forme of their publicke meetings: but that such meetings*
 " *were*

were then used amongst them, on the *Sunday* onely, that he doth not say. Nor can we learne by him or by *Justin Martyr*, who describes them also either how long those meetings lasted, or whether they assembled more then once a day, or what they did after the meetings were dissolved. But sure it is, that their Assemblies held no longer then our Morning service; that they met onely before noone, for *Justin* saith, that when they met they used to receive the *Sacrament*; and that the service being done, every man went againe to his daily labours. Of all these I shall speake hereafter. Onely I note it out of *Beza*, that bitherto the people used not to forbear their labours, but while they were assembled in the *Congregation*: there being no such dutie enjoyned amongst them, neither in the times of the *Apostles*, nor after, many yeares, not till the *Emperours* had embraced the *Gospell*, and therewith published their *Edicts* to enforce men to it. But take his words at large for the more assurance. *Ut autem Christiani eo die à suis quotidianis laboribus abstineront, præter id temporis quod in cætu ponebatur, id neque illis Apostolicis temporibus mandatum, neque prius fuit observatum, quam id à Christianis Imperatoribus, ne quis a rerum sacrarum meditatione abstraharetur, & quidem non ita præcise observatum.* Which makes it manifest that the *Lords day* was not taken for a *Sabbath day* in thele three first Ages. But for *Tertullian* where I left, note that I rendered *seniores*, by *Priests* or *Elders*, because I thinke his meaning was to render the *Grecke Presbyter*, by the *Latine senior*. For that he should there meane *lay-elders*, as some men would have it, is a thing impossible: considering that he tells us in another place, that they received the *Sacrament* at the hands of those, that did preside in the assemblies. *Eucaristia Sacramentum non de aliorum manu, quam de Presidentium sumimus*; and therefore sure they must be *Priests*, that so presided.

(9) Proceed we next to *Origen*, who flourished at the same time also. Hee being an Auditor of *Clemens*, in the

In Cant. Sol.
hom. 30.De corona mil.
c. 3.

In Gen hom. 10.
Cont. Cels. 1.8.

Cent. 2. c. 6.

the schooles of *Alexandria*, became of his opinions too in many things: and amongst others in dislike of those selected *festivals* which by the Church were set apart, for Gods publicke service. *Dicite mihi vos qui festis tantum diebus ad Eccles. convenitis, ceteri dies non sunt festi, non sunt dies Domini? Iudaorum est dies sabbatis & raros observare solennes &c. Christiani omni die carnes agni comedunt, i.e. carnes verbi Dei quotidie sumunt.* Tel me, saith he, “ you that frequent the *Church* on the *feast days* onely, are not all dayes *festivall*? are not all the *Lords*? It appertaines unto the *Jews* to obserue dayes, and festivals: “ the *Christians* every day eat the flesh of the Lambe, i. e. they every day do heare the Word of God. And in another place, *Εορτάζεις γαρ επί αληθείαν ο τού Νόμου θερινών, αἱ εὐχαριστίαι, διά μαρτύρων θυσίαι αὐτομάκρυντες εἰς ταῖς πρόσθιαις εὐχαριστίαις θυσίαις, &c.* He truly keepes the *festivals*, that performes his dutie, praying continually, and offering every day the unbloody sacrifice in his prayers to God. Which whotoever doth, and is upright in thought, word, and deed, adhering alwayes unto God, our naturall Lord; αἱ δὲ εὐχαριστίαι οὐκέπιστος, Every day is to him a *Lords day*. It seemes too, that he had his desire, in part: it being noted by the *Mandeburgians*, that every day there were assemblies in *Alexandria*, where he lived, for hearing of the word of God. *Et de collectis quotidie celebratis in quibus predicatum sit verbum Dei, Hom. 9. in Isa. significare videtur*, as they note it from him. Indeed the *Proem* to his severall *Homilies*, seeme to intimate, that if they met not every day, to heare his *lectures*; they met very often. But being a learned man, and one that had a good conceit of his owne abilities, he grew offended that there was not as great resort of people every day, to heare him; as upon the *Festivals*. Of *Sunday* there is little doubt, but that it was observed amongst them: and so was *Saturday* also, as we shall see hereafter out of *Athanasius*. Of *Wednesday* and *Friday* it is positively said by *Socrates*, that on them both the *Scriptures*

tures were read openly, and afterwards expounded by the *Doctors* of the *Church*; and all things done appointed by the publicke *Liturgie*, save that they did not use to receive the *sacrament*. *Καὶ τὰ τοῦ εὐτυχίαν εἰς Αλεξανδρεῖαν αὐχαιούσθιαν*. And this, saith he, was the old in *Alexandria*: which he confirmes by the practise of *Origen*, who was accustomed, as he tells us, to preach upon these dayes to the *Congregation*. *Tertullian* too takes speciall notice of these two dayes, whereof consult him in his booke *adv. Psychicos*.

(10) About the middle of this *Centurie*, did *Saint Cyprian* live, another *African*: and he hath left us somewhat, although not much, which concernes this busines. *Aurelius*, one of excellent part, was made a *Reader* in the *Church*, I thinke of *Carthage*: which being very welcome newes to the common people, *Saint Cyprian* makes it knowne unto them; and withall lets them understand, that *Sunday* was the day appointed for him to begin his *Ministerie*. *Et quoniā semper gaudium properat, nec mora ferre potest latitia, dominico legit.* So that as *Sunday* was a day, which they used to meet on; so reading of the *Scripture*, was a speciall part of the *Sundayes exercise*. Not as an exercise to spend the time, when one doth wait for anotheres comming, till the assemblie be complete; and that without or choice or stint appointed by determinate order; as is now used both in the *French* and *Belgicke Churches*: for what need such an eminent man, as *Aurelius* was, be taken out with so much expectation, to exercise the *Clarks*, or the *sextons* dutie. But it was used amongst them then, as a chiefe portion of the service which they did to God; in hearkening reverently unto his voice: It being so ordered in the *Church*, that the whole *Bible* or the greatest part thereof, should be read over once a *yeare*. And this, that so the *Ministers* of the *congregation*, by often reading and meditation of Gods Word, be stirred up to godlinesse themselves, and be the more able

Lib. 2. Epist. 5.

Preface to the
Common prayer.

to exhort others by wholesome doctrine, and to confuse them that were Adversaries to the truth: as that the people by daily hearing of the Scriptures, should profit more and more in the knowledge of God, and be the more inflamed with the love of his true Religion. Nor for the duties of the people, on this day, in the Congregation, as they used formerly to hear the Word, and receive the Sacraments, and to powre forth their soules to God in affectionate prayers: so much about these times, viz. in Ann. 237. it had beene appointed by Pope *Fabian*, that every man and woman should on the *Lords day* bring a quantitie of bread and wine, first to be offered on the Altar, and then distributed in the *Sacrament*. A thing that had beene done before, as of common course; but now exacted as a duty: for the neglect whereof Saint *Cyprian* chides with a rich widdow of his time, who neither brought her offering, nor otherwise gave any thing to the poore-mans Boxe, and therefore did not keepe the *Lords day*, as she should have done. *Locuples & dives dominicum celebrare credid, que Corbonam omnino non respicis, que in Dominicum* (here he meanes the *Church*) *fine sacrificio venis, que partem de sacrificio, quod pauper obtulit, sumis.* In after times this custome went away by little and little; instead of which it was appointed by the *Church*, and retained in ours, that *Bread and Wine for the Communion, shall bee provided by the Churchwardens at the charge of the Parish.* I should now leave Saint *Cyprian* here, but that I am to tell you first, that he conceives the *Lords day* to have beene prefigured in the eighth day, destinate to circumcision. Which being but a private opinion of his owne; I rather shall referre the Reader unto the place, then repeate the words. And this is all, this Age affords me in the present search.

(11) For other *holy dayes* by the *Church*, for Gods publicke service, those three *Centuries* precedent; besides the *Lords day*, or the *Sunday*, which came every weeke,

Origen

Decret. 1. 5. c. 7.

De pietat. &
Eleemos.

V. 4.3 Epi 8.

Origen names the *Good Friday* as we call it now, the *Pa-* Con. Cels. 1.8. *rasseve*, as he calls it there; the feast of *Easter* and of *Pentecost*. Of *Easter* we have spoke already. For *Pentecost* or *Whitsontide*, as it began with the *Apostles*, so it continues till this present, but not in that solemnitie which before it had. For antiently not that day onely, which wee call *Whitsunday*, or *Pentecost* *κατ' Εξοχήν*, but all the *fiftie dayes*, from *Easter*, forwards, were accounted holy; and solemnized with no lesse observation, then the *sundayes* were: no *kneeling* on the one, nor upon the other; no *fasting* on the one, nor upon the other. Of which dayes, that of the *Ascension*, or *Holy-Thursday* being one; became in little time to be more highly reckoned of then all the rest: as we shall prove hereafter out of *Saint Austin*. But for these 50. dayes aforesaid, *Tertullian* tells us of De Coron. milit. them, thus: *Die Dominico jejunium nefas ducimus, vel de ca. 3.* *geniculis adorare; Eadem immunitate a die Pasche in Pentecosten gaudemus*: which makes both alike. Which words if any thinke too short, to reach the point, he tells us in another place, that all the Festivals of the *Gentiles*, contained not so many dayes as did that one. *Excerpe singulas solennitates nationum, & in ordinem texe, Pentecosten implere non poterunt.* The like he hath also in his booke *adv. Psychicos*: the like *Saint Hierom. ad Lucinum*; the like *Saint Ambrose*, or *Maximus Taurinensis*. which of the two soever it was, that made thole *Sermons*, *Serm. 60. 61.* In which last it is said exprely of those fifty daies, that every one of them, was *instar Dominica*, and *qualis est Dominica*, in all respects nothing inferiour to the *Lords day*. And in the *Comment* on *Saint Luke* (which questionlesse was writ by *Ambrose*) *cap. 17. l. 8.* it is said exprely, *Et sicut omnes dies tantum Dominica*, that every day of all the fiftie, was to be reckoned of no otherwise, in that regard, especially, then the *Sunday* was. Some footsteps of this custome yet remaine amongst us, in that we fast not either on *S. Marks Eve*, or on the *Eve* of

of *Philip* and *Jacob*, happening within the time. The fast of the *Rogation weeke* was after instituted, on a particular, and extraordinarie occasion. Now as these festivals of *Easter* and of *Whitsontide*, were instituted in the first age or *Centurie*, and with them those two dayes attendant, which we still retaine; whereof see *Austin de Civit. Dei, li. 22. ca. 8.* & *Myssen* in his first *Hom. de Paschate*, where *Easter* is exprefly called *triduus pascha*, or the three-dayes-feast: so was the feast of Chrifts nativitie ordained or instituted in the second, that of his incarnation in the third. For this we have an *Homilie* of *Gregory* surnamed *Thaumaturgus*, who lived in An. 130, entituled *De annunciatione B. Virginis*, as we call it now. But being it is questionable among the learned, whether that *Homilie* be his, or not: there is an *Homilie* of *Athanasius* on the ſelue fame argument, (he lived in the beginning of the following Centurie) whereof there is no question to be made at all. That of the *Lords nativitie*, began if not before, in the ſecond Age. *Theophilus Catechist*, who lived about the times of *Commodus* and *Severus* the Romane Emperours, makes mention of it; and fixeth it upon the 25. of *Decemb.* as we now obſerve it. *Natalem Domini, quocunque die 8. Calend. Januar. uenerit, celebrare debemus*, as his owne words are. And after, in the time of *Maximinus* which was one of the laſt great persecutors, *Nicephorus* tells us, that *In ipso natali Dominicī die, Christianos Nicomedia festivitatem celebrantes, successo templo concremarit*; even in the very day of the *Lords nativitie*, he caused the Christians to be burnt at *Nicomedia*, whilſt they were ſolemnizing this great feast within their Temple. I ſay this Great Feaſt, and I call it ſo on the authoritie of *Beda*, who reckoneth *Christmas*, *Easter*, and *Whitsontide*, for majora ſolennia, as they ſtil are counted. But before *Beda* it was ſo thought over all the Church: *Chrysſtome* calls it, *μητρωπολίς των ἑορῶν*, the mother or metropolis of all other feaſts.

And

L.7.6.6.

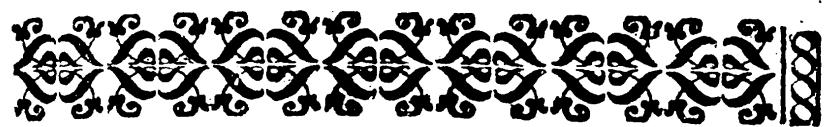
Orat. de Pbilogen.

And before him Pope *Fabian*, whom but now we ſpake of, ordained that all lay-men ſhould communicate at leaſt thrice a yeaſe, which, was theſe three feſtivals. *Etsi non frequentius, ſaltetem in Anno Laici homines communient, &c. in Pascha & Pentecoste, & Natali Domini.* So quickly had the *Annuali* got the better, of the weekly feſtivals. According to which ancient *Canon*, the Church of England hath appointed that every man communicate at leaſt thrice a yeaſe; of which times, *Easter* is one.

(12) Before we end this Chapter, there is one thing yet to be conſidered, which is the name wherby the Christians of theſe first Ages, did uſe to call the day of the reſurrecſtion; and conſequently the other dayes of the week, according as they found the time diſtributed. The rather becauſe ſome are become offendēd, that wee retaine theſe names amongſt uſ, which were to uſ commended by our Anceſtours, and to them, by theirs. Where first we muſt take notice, that the Jewes in honour of their *Sabbath*, uſed to referre their times to that; diſtinguishing their dayes by *Prima Sabbathi*, *Secunda Sabbathi*, and ſo untill they came to the *Sabbath* it ſelue: as on the other ſide the Gentiles, following the motions of the *Planets*, gave to each day the name of that particular *Planet*, by which the firſt houre of the day was governed, as their *Aſtrologers* had taught them. Now the *Apoſtles* being Jewes, retaine the cuſtome of the Jewes; and for that reaſon called that day on which our Saviour roſe, *μία ουρατη, una Sabbathi*, the firſt day of the week, as our *Engliſh* reads it. The Fathers, many of them followed their example. *Saint Austin* thereupon calls *Thurſday*, by the name of *quintum Sabbathi*, *Epif. 118*, and ſo doth venerable *Beda*, *bif. lib. 4. c. 25.* *Saint Hierome*, *Tuesday*, *tertium Sabbathi*, in *Epiſt. Paula*; *Tertullian* *Friday*, by the old name, *parafœcū l. 4. advers. Marcion.* *Saturday* they called general-ly the *Sabbath*; and *Sunday*, ſometimes *dies ſolis*, and is ſome-

See *Binius*
Conc. T. 1.

sometimes *Dominicus*. Pope *Silvester*, as *Polydore Virgil* is of opinion, *et nomen deorum memoriam abhorrens*, hating the name and memory of the Gentile Gods, gave order that the dayes should be called by the name of *Feriae*; and the distinction to be made by *Prima feria, secunda feria, &c.* the *Sabbath* and the *Lords day* holding their names, and places, as before they did. Hence that of *Honorius Augustodunensis*; *Hebrae nominant dies suos, una vel prima sabbati, &c. Pagans sic, dies solis, Luna, &c. Christiani vero sic dies nominant, viz. Dies Dominicu, feria prima, &c. Sabbathum*. But by their leaves, this is no universall rule; the Writers of the Christian Church notwithstanding tying up their hands so strictly, as to give the dayes what names they pleased: Save that the *Saturday* is called amongst them by no other name, then that which formerly it had, the *Sabbath*. So that when ever, for a thousand years, and upwards, wee meet with *sabbatum*, in any Writer of what name soever it must be understood of no day but *Saturday*. As for the other day, the day of the resurrection, all the *Evangelists*, and *Saint Paul*, take notice of no other name, then of the *first day of the weekke*, *S. John*, and after him *Ignatius*, call it *weckday*, the *Lords Day*. But then again, *Justin Martyr* for the *second Century* doth in two severall passages call it no otherwise then *sunnes day*, as then the *Gentiles* called it, and we call it now: and so *Terentian* for the *third*, who useth both, and calls it sometimes *dies solis*, and sometimes *Dominicum*, as before was said. Which questionlesse neither of them would have done, on what respect soever, had it been either contrary to the *Word of God*, or scandalous unto his *Church*. So for the *after ages*, in the *Edicts of Constantine, Valentinian, Valens, Græssian, Flavorius, Arcadius, Theodosius, Christian Princes all*, it hath no other name then *Sunday*, or *dies solis*: and many faire years after them, the *Synod held at Dingelafingen in the lower Bavaria, Anno 772*, calls it plainly *Sunday*; *Festus dies solis* pro-



That in the fourth Age from the time of Constantine to Saint *Austine*, the *Lords day* was not taken for a Sabbath day.

(1) *The Lords day first established by the Emperour Constantine.* (2) *What labours were permitted, and what restrained on the Lords day, by this Emperours Edict.* (3) *Of other holy dayes, and Saints dayes, instituted in the time of Constantine.* (4) *That weekly other dayes, particularly the Wednesday and the Friday, were in this Age, and those before appointed for the meetings of the Congregation.* (5) *The Saturday as highly honoured in the Easterne Churches, as the Lords day was.* (6) *The Fathers of the Easterne Churches, cry downe the Iewish Sabbath, though they held the Saturday.* (7) *The Lords day not spent wholly in religious exercises; and what was done with that part of it, which was left at large.* (8) *The Lords day, in this Age, a day of feasting: and that it hath beene always deemed hereticall, to hold fasts thereon.* (9) *Of recreatiōn on the Lords day: and of what kind those dancings were, against the which the Fathers enveigh so sharply.* (10) *Other Imperiall Edicts about the keeping of the Lords day, and the other holy daies.* (11) *The Orders, at this time in use, on the Lords day, and other dayes, of publick meeting*

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AGE



MISSING

II.

From the time of *Constantine*, the *Lords* *daye* *or a Sab-*

lished by the *Emperour* were permitted, and what was done on the *Lords day*, by this *Emperours Edict*. (3) Of other holy dayes, and *Saints dayes*, instituted in the time of *Constantine*. (4) That weekly other dayes, particularly the *Wednesday* and the *Friday*, were in this *Age*, and those before appointed for the meetings of the *Congregation*. (5) The *Saturday* as highly honoured in the *Easterne Churches*, as the *Lords day* was. (6) The *Fathers* of the *Easterne Churches*, cry downe the *Iewish Sabbath*, though they held the *Saturday*. (7) The *Lords day* not spent wholly in religious exercises; and what was done with that part of it, which was left at large. (8) The *Lords day*, in this *Age*, a day of feasting: and that it hath beene always deemed *hereticall*, to hold fasts thereon. (9) Of recreation on the *Lords day*: and of what kind those *dancings* were, against the which the *Fathers* enveigh so sharply. (10) Other *Imperiall Edicts* about the keeping of the *Lords day*, and the other holy daies. (11) The *Orders*, at this time in use, on the *Lords day*, and other dayes, of publick meeting

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tion*, all the *Evangelists*, and *Saint Paul*, take notice of no other name, then of the *first day of the weeke*. *S. John*, and after him *Ignatius*, call it *κυριακη*, the *Lords Day*. But then again, *Justin Martyr* for the *second Century* doth in two severall passages call it no otherwise then *υγιεια*, *Sunday*, as then the *Gentiles* called it, and we call it now: and so *Tertullian* for the *third*, who useth both, and calls it sometimes *dies solis*, and sometimes *Dominum*, as before was said. Which questionesse neither of them would have done, on what respect soever, had it been either contrary to the *Word of God*, or scandalous unto his *Church*. So for the *after ages*, in the *Edicts of Constantine*, *Valentinian*, *Valens*, *Gratian*, *Honorius*, *Arcadius*, *Theodosius*, *Christian Princes all*, it hath no other name then *Sunday*, or *dies solis*: and many faire yeares after them, the *Synod held at Dingelafinum* in the lower *Bavaria*, *Anno 772*, calls it plainly *Sunday*. *Festus dies solis* pro-



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(1)



Ithereto have we spoken of the Lords day, as taken up by the common consent of the Church: not instituted or established by any text of Scripture, or Edict of Emperour, or decree of councell; save that some few particular Counsels did reflect upon it, in the point of Easter. In that

which followeth, wee shall finde both Emperours and Councells very frequent, in ordering things about this day, and the service of it. And first wee have the Emperour Constantine, who being the first Christian Prince that publickely profest the Gospell, was the first also that made any law about the keeping of the Lords day or Sunday. Of him Eusebius tells us, that thinking that the chiefeſt and moſt proper day, for the devoſion of his ſubjects, he preſently declared his pleaſure, *της οὐρανοῦ Παρασκευῆς καὶ της Σαββατοῦ*, that every one who lived in the Roman Empire, ſhould take their eafe, or reſt, in that day weekly, which is iſtituted to our Saviour. Now where the ſouldiers in his campe were partly Christians, and partly the Gentiles: it was permitted unto them who profefſed the Gospell, upon the Sunday, ſo he calls it, freely to goe unto the Churches, and there offer up their prayers to Almighty God. But ſuch as had continued ſtill in their auntient errours, were ordered to aſſemble in the open fields, upon thofe dayes and on a ſignal given, to make their prayers unto the Lord, after a forme

De viſ. confi.
lib. 4. c. 18.

PART. 2. forme by him preſcribed. The forme being in the Latin tongue, was this that followeth. *Te ſolum Deum agnoscimus, te regem profitemur, te adjutorem invocamus, per te victorias consecuti ſumus, per te hostes ſuperavitimus, a te & preſentem felicitatem consecutoſ fatemur, et futuram adepturos ſperamus: tu omnes ſupplices ſumus, a te petimus, ut Conſtantinum Imperatore noſtrum unacum piae ejus liberis, quam diutissime nobis ſalvum & victorum conſerves. In English, thus. We doe acknowledge thee to be the onely God, we confeſſe thee to be the King, we call upon thee as our helper and defenſer: by thee alone it is that we have got the viſtory, and subdued our enemies, to thee as we referr all our preſent happiness, ſo from thee alſo do we expeſt our future. Thee therefore we beſeech, that thou wouleſt pleaſe to keepe in all health and ſafety, our noble Emperour Conſtantine, with his hopefull progeny. Nor was this onely to be done in the fields of Rome, in patenribus ſuburbiorum campis, as the Edict ranne: but after by another proclamation he did command the ſame over all the Provinces of the Empire. Καὶ τοῖς κατὰ ἔθνος ἀπεχθόνιοι οὐνοὶ τὸν κυριακὸν ἡμέραν ὑπέπειρον ἐποίησαντες, τὸν νομιμὸν βασιλεῖον, as Eusebius hath it. So naturall a power it is in a Christian Prince, to order things about religion; that he not onely tooke upon him to command the day, but alſo to preſcribe the ſervice; to thofe I meane who had no publicke Liturgie, or ſet forme of Prayer.*

(2) Nor did he onely take upon him to command or appoint the day, as to all his ſubjects; and to preſcribe a forme of prayer, as unto the Gentiles: but to decree what workeſ ſhould be allowed upon it, and what intermiſſed. In former times, though the Lords day, had got the credit, as to be honoured with the publicke meetings of the Congregation; yet was it not ſo ſtrictly kept, no not in time of Divine ſervice, but that the publicke magiſtrates, Judges and other Ministers of ſtate, were to attend thofe great imploymenſ they were called unto,

to, without relation to this day, or cessation on it, and so did other men that had lesse employments, and those not so necessary. These things this pious Emperour taking into consideration, and finding no necessity, but that his *Judges* and other publicke *ministers* might attend Gods service on that day; at least not bee a meanes to keepe others from it: and knowing that such as dwelt in *Citties* had sufficient leisure to frequent the *Church*, and that *Artificers* without any publicke discommodity, might for that time forbeare their ordinary labours: hee ordered and appointed, that all of them, in their severall places should this day lay aside their *owne busynesse*, to attend the *Lords*. But then withall confidering, that such as followed *husbandry*, could not so well neglect the times of *seede* and *harvest*, but that they were to take advantage of the fairest and most seasonable weather, as God pleased to send it; he left it free to them to follow their affaires on what day soever: lest otherwise they might lose those blessings, which God in his great bountie had bestowed upon them. This mentioned in the very Edict he set forth about it. First for his *Judges*, *Citizens* or inhabitants of the greater townes, and all *Artificers* therein dwelling. *Omnis Iudices, urbaneque plebes, & cunctarum artium officia, venerabili die Solis quiescant.* Next for the people of the Country, *Rure tamen positi, libere licenterque agrorum cultura inserviant, quoniam frequenter evenit, ut non aptius alio die, frumenta sulcis, vinea scrobibus mandentur.* And then the reason of this followes, *Ne occasione momentis, pereat commoditas celesti, provisione concessa.* This Edict did beare date, in the *Nones of March*, Anno 321, being the 11 yeare of that Princes Empire: and long it did not stand, till hee himselfe was faine to explaine his meaning in the first part of it. For where as hee intended onely to restraine *lawskites*, and contentious *pleadings*, as being unfit for such a day: his *Judges* and like officers, finding a generall restraint in the law or Edict, durst not ingage themselves in

L. Omnes cap.
de ferijs;

in the Cognizance of any evill cause what ever; no nor so much as in the *Manumission* of a *Bondslave*. This comming to the Emperours notice, who was a friend of liberty, and could not but well understand, how acceptable a thing it was to God, that workes of charity and mercy should not be restrained on any dayes: it pleased him to send out a second Edict, in the *July* following, directed to *Elpidius*, who was then *Prefectus Praetorio*, as I take it; wherein hee authorized his *Ministers* to performe that Office, any thing in the former Law, unto the contrary notwithstanding. For so it remaines, *Sicut ibid. indignissimum videbatur diem Solis venerationis sua celebrem, altercantibus jurgijs & noxijs partium contentiobus occupari; ita gratum est & jucundum eo die, quae sunt maxime votiva, compleri.* *Atque ideo emancipandi & manumittendi, die festo, cuncti licentiam habeant, & super his rebus Acta non prohibeantur.* So that not onely *husbandry* was permitted, in small Townes and Villages; but *manumission* being a meere *civill Act* and of no small care, many was by him suffered and allowed in the greater Citties. The first great worke done by the first great *Christian Prince*, was to declare his royall pleasure about this day, what things he thought most proper to permit, and what to *disallow* upon it, teaching all other *Kings* and *Princes* which have since succeeded, what they shoule also doe on the same occasion.

(3) Nor did this pious Prince confirme and regulate the *Lords day* onely: but unto him we are indebted for many of these other *Festivalls*, which have beeene since observed in the *Church* of God. It had beeene formerly a custome in the *Christian Church*, carefully to observe the times and dayes of their departure, who had preferred the *Gospel* before their *lives*, and suffered many torments, and at last death it selfe, for the faith of *Christ*. *Euseb. hist. 14. 6. 14.* The *Church* of *Smyrna* (and that's the highest we neede goe) testifieth in an Epistle writ *ad Philomelienses*, that they did celebrate the day, wherein their Reverend *Bi-* shop

shop Polycarp did suffer Martyrdom with joy and gladness, and an holy Convocation. This was in Anno 170. or there abouts. And in the following Age, S. Cyprian taking notice of such men as were imprisoned for the testimony of a good conscience, appointed that the dayes of their decease should be precisely noted, that so their memories might be celebrated with the holy Martyrs. *Denuique & dies eorum quibus excedunt, annotate, ut commemorationes eorum inter memorias martyrum celebrare possumus*, as there he hath it. But hitherto they were onely bare memorials, (for more they durst not doe in those times of trouble) their sufferings onely signified to the Congregation: and that they did unto this end, that by exhibiting the people their infinite indurances for the truth and testimony of Religion, they also might bee nourished in an equall constancie. After, when as the Church was in perfect peace, it pleased the Emperour Constantine to signifie to all his Deputies and Leivteneants in the Roman Empire, that they should have a care to see those the memorials of the Martyrs duly honoured; and soleme times or Festivalls to be appointed in the Churches, to that end and purpose. *Kai μανίαν ινέας ομίλου, καρπεί θεοπότων [τέτοι] εκκλησίας εόρτας*. And though these Festivalls and Saints dayes became not forthwith common over all the world; but were obserued in those parts chiefly, wherein the memorie of the Saint or Martyr, was in most esteeme; in which respect Saint Hierome calls them, *tempora in honore Martyrum pro diversa regionum varietate constituta*: yet in a little tract of time, such of them as had beeene most eminent, as the Apostles and Evangelists, were universally received and celebrated, even as now they are. I say as now they are, as they are now obserued in the Church of England; and this I say upon the credir and authority of Theodore. Who, though hee gives another reason and originall of these institutions, informes us of these Festivalls that they were *modesta, casta, temperantia plena*, performed with modestie

Epi. 8.1.3.

Euseb. 1.4.
cap. 23.

2n Gal. 4.1

De Martyn.
1.8.

modestie, chasteitie and sobrietie: not as the Festivalls of the Gentiles were, in excesse and riot. And not so onely, but he affirmes this of them, *divinis cantis personantis, sacrisque sermonibus audiendis intenta*, that they were solemnized with spirituall Hymnes, and religious Sermons: and that the people used to emptie out their soules to God in fervent and affectionate Prayers, *non sine lachrymis & suspirijs*, even with sighes and teares. As for Theodoret, he lived and flourished in the yeare 420. and speakes of these Festivalls (S. Peter and S. Thomas and S. Paul, with others which he names particularly) as things which had beeene settled and established a long time before: and therefore could not be much after the time of Constantine, who dyed not till the up yeare 341. or thereabouts. As for the eighth booke *de Martyrib.* Where this passage is, it is the 12. of those entituled *de carandis Grac. affect.* And howsoever some exception hath beeene made against them, as that they were not his, whose names they carry: yet finde I no just prooife thereof amongst our Criticks.

(4) Now as the Emperour Constantine did adde the Annuall Festivalls of the Saints unto those other Anniversarie feasts, which formerly had beeene obserued in the Christian Church: so by his royll edict did he settle and confirme those publicke meetings, which had beeene formerly obserued on each Friday weekly; the Wednesday standing on the same Basis, as before it did, which was the *custom* of the Church. Eusebius having *De vit Conf.* 1.4.c.18. told us of this Emperours Edict about the honouring of the Sunday, addes, that he also made the like about the Friday: *Ιωνας γε το τε ουββιλη την* as that Author hath it. Sozomen addes, that he enjoyned also the like rest upon it, the like cessation both from *indicature*, and all other busynesses: and after gives this reason of it. *Ἐπίμα δε τὸν κυριακὸν εὐταύτη τε χειρού διαστήθει τον δε τετρα, οις εὐ αὐτὴν σαρπεθεὶσι*. HEE honoured the one, saith he, as being the day of our Redemmers resurrection, *the* E e 4

Hist. 1. c. 8.

the other, as the day of our Saviours passion. So for the practise of the Church in the following times, that they used other dayes besides the Sundayes, is evident by many passages of *Cyrill of Hierusalem*, where hee makes mention of the Sermon preached the day before, *τῇ χθεσὶν* in his owne Language; *Catech. orat. 7.* & *τῇ χθεσὶν* *μερακῆν*, the morrow after the Lords day, *Cat. 14.* & *τῆς χθεσὶν μυσαγωγίας*, *Catech. Mystag. 2.* The like is very frequent in *S. Ambrose* also. *Hesterno die de fonte disputavimus, De Sacram. lib. 3. cap. 1.* *Hesternus noster sermo ad sancti altaris sacramentum deductus est. lib. 5. cap. 1.* and in other places. The like in *Crysostome* as in many other places; too many to bee pointed at in this place and time; so in his *18. Hom.* on the *3. of Gen.* *εἰδήτε χθεσὶν σκεψεῖσθαι περιποτικῶν, &c.* But this perhaps was onely in respect of Lectures, or Expositions of the Scriptures, such as were often used in the greater Cities, where there was much people, and but little businesse: for I conceive not that they met every day in these times to receive the Sacraments. Of *Wednesday* and of *Friday*, it is plaine they did, (not to say any thing of the *Saturday* till the next Section.) *S. Basil* names them all together. *Καὶ τὸ κοινωνεῖν στεφάνῳ ἐγκεντοῦντι περιποτικῷ, &c.*

It is faith he, a profitable and pious thing, every day to communicate and to participate of the blessed body and blood of Christ our Saviour; he having told us in plaine termes, that Whosoever eateth his flesh, and drinketh his blood, hath eternall life. We notwithstanding doe communicate but fourre times weekly, εἰν τῇ κυελάκῃ καὶ εἰν τῇ τετράκῃ, εἰν τῇ παγονεύῃ καὶ εἰν τῷ σαββατῷ, viz. on the Lords day, the Wednesday, the Friday and the Saturday, unlesse on any other dayes the memory of some Martyr be perhaps observed. *Epiphanius* goeth a little further, and he deriveth the *Wednesdayes* and the *Fridays* Service even from the *Apostles*, ranking them in the same Antiquity, and grounding them upon the same authority, that he doth the *Sunday*. *Συγάγεται δὲ πετελεύτης ταῦθεν*

Eph 289.

Expos. fd.
Cap. 11. 22.

ταῦθεν εἰπεν αὐτῷ τῷ: Αποστόλων τετράκῃ, καὶ στεφάνῳ, καὶ τῷ σαββατῷ, καὶ τῇ περιποτικῇ. Onely it seemes the difference was, that where-as formerly it had beene the custome not to administer the Sacrament on these two dayes (being both of them fasting dayes, and so accounted long before) untill towards evening: It had beene changed of late and they did celebrate in the mornings *εἰν κυελάκῃ ιπέρη*, as on the Lords day was accustomed. Whether the meetings on these dayes were of such antiquity as *Epiphanius* saith they were, I will not meddle. Certaine it is that they were very antient in the Church of God; as may appeare by that of *Origen* and *Tertullian* before remembred. So that if wee consider eyther the preaching of the word, the ministratiōn of the Sacraments, or the publicke Prayers: the *Sunday* in the *Easterne Churches* had no great prerogative above other dayes, especially above the *Wednesday* and the *Friday*, save that the meetings were more solemne, and the concourse of people greater than at other times, as it is most likely. The footesteps of this antient custome are yet to be observed in this *Church of England*; by which it is appointed that no *Wednesdayes* and *Fridays* weekly, though they be not holy dayes, the Minister at the accustomed houres of Service shall resort to *Church*, and say the *Letanie* prescribed in the *Booke of Common prayer*.

Can. 25.

(5) As for the *Saturday*, that retained its wounded credit in the *Easterne Church*; little inferiour to the *Lords day*, if not plainly equall: not as a *Sabbath*, thinke not so; but as a day designed unto sacred meetings. The *Constitutions of the Apostles*, said to be writ by *Clemens*, one of *Saint Peters* first successours in the *Church of Rome*, appoint both dayes to be observed as solemne Festivals; both of them to be dayes of rest: that so the servant might have time to repaire unto the *Church*, for his education. *Εργάζεσθαι δὲ δεῖλοι πάντες ιπέρης, σάββατον δὲ καὶ κυελάκην πολλήτερον εἰ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ διὰ τὴν διδαχαλίαν τὸς εὐσεβῶν.* So the *Constitution*. Not that they should denote them

Lib. 8. c. 3. 33.

Lib. 5. cap. 19.

De Srip. Ecc.
in Clemente.

can. 16.

canon 49.

canon 51.

Herm de Se-
mente.

them wholly unto rest from labour; but onely those set times of both, which were appointed for the meetings of the Congregation: Yet this had an exception too, the Saturday before Easter day, whereupon Christ rested in the Grave, being exempt from these assemblies, and destinatid onely unto grieve and fasting. And though these constitutions in all likelihood were not writ by Clemens, there being many things therein, which could not be in use of a long time after: yet ancient sure they were, as being mentioned in Epiphanius; and as the Cardinall confesseth, *α Grecis veteribus magni factos*, much made of by the ancient Grecians, though not of such authoritie in the Church of Rome. How their authoritie in this point is countenanced by Ignatius, we have scene already: and wee shall see the same more fully, throughout all this Age. And first, beginning with the Synod, held in Laodicea, a towne of Phrygia, Anno 314. there passed a Canon, *μετὰ τῆς σαββάτου εὐαγγελία μετά τέραν γραπτού αναγνώσατο*, touching the reading of the Gospels, with the other Scriptures upon the Saturday, or Sabbath: that in the time of Lent, there should be no oblation made *εἰς τὸν σαββάτον καὶ κυριακὴν μόνον*, but on the Saturday, and the Lords day onely; neither that any Festivall should be then observed in memory of any Martyrs, but that their names onely should be commemorated, *εἰς τὸν σαββάτον καὶ κυριακὴν*, upon the Lords day and the Sabbaths. Nor was this onely the particular will of those two and thir-ty Prelates that there assembled; it was the practise too of the Alexandrians. S. Athanasius Patriarch there, affirmes that they assembled on the Sabbath dayes, not that they were infected any whit with Iudaism, which was farre from them; but that they came together on the Sabbath day, to worship Iesus Christ the Lord of the Sabbath. *Παρεγένετο δὲ εἰς ταῦτα τοῦ κύριον τὸν σαββάτον ἵνα ενεργεύσησιε*, as the Father hath it. So for the Church of Millaine, which as before I said, in some certaine things followed the Churches of the East; it seemes

seemes the Saturday was held in a farre esteeme, and joyned together with the Sunday. *Craftino die & Sabbato, & dominico, de orationis ordine dicemus*, as S. Ambrose hath it. And probablie his often mention of *besternus dies* remembred in the former Section, may have relation to the joynit obseruance of these two dayes: and so may that which is reported then out of S. Chrysost. and S. Cyril, Easterne Doctors both. Sure I am Socrates counts both dayes for weekly Festivalls, *ἐκάστης ἑβδομάδος ἐορτὰς Σαββάτου καὶ Κυριακῆς*, and addes *εἰς αἵτινα εὐαγγελία καὶ τὰς εκκλησίας θεοφόρους γένεται*, that on them both the Congregation used to be assembled, and the whole Liturgie performed. Which plainely shewes, that in the practise of those Churches they were both regarded, both alike obserued. Gregory Nyssen speakes more home and unto the purpose. Some of the people had neglected to come unto the Church upon the Saturday; and on the Sunday he thus chides and rebukes them for it. *Ποιοῖς γάρ οὐθενὸς πατέρας καὶ αὐτοὺς τὸ σαββάτον, & αἱματάτος τὸ σαββάτον*, &c. with what face, saith the Father, wilt thou looke upon the Lords day, which hast dishonoured the Sabbath, knowest thou not that these dayes are *sisters*, and that who ever doth despise the one, doth affront the other? Sisters indeed, and so accounted in those Churches, not onely in regard of the publicke meetings, but in this also that they were both exempt from the Lenten Fast; of which more anon. In the meane time, we may remember how Saturday is by S. Basil made one of those foure times, whereon the Christians of those parts did assemble weekly to receive the Sacrement, as before wee noted. And finally it is sayd by Epiphanius, that howsoever it was not so in the Isle of Cyprus, which it seemes held more correspondence with the Church of Rome, than those of Asia; Yet in some places, *εἰς τὸν σαββάτον εὐαγγελίαν τελεῖσθαι*, they used to celebrate the holy Sacrement, and hold their publicke meetings on the Sabbath day: So as the difference was but this, that whereas in the Easterne and Westerne Churches severall

De Sacrament.
Lib. 4. cap. 6.Hist. Eccles.
Lib. 6. cap. 8.De Castiga-
tione.

Expos. fidei

Cathol. 24.

severall dayes were in commission for Gods publike service: the *Lords day*, in both places, was of the *Quorum*, and therefore had the greater worship, because more businesse.

(6) They held their publike meetings on the Sabbath day, yet did not keepe it like a Sabbath. The Fathers of this learned age knew that Sabbath had beeene abrogated, and protest as much. The Councell of *Laodicea* before remembred, though it ascribe much to this day, inference to the *Congregations* then held upon it: yet it condemnes the *Romish* observations of the same. Οὐδὲ χριστιανὸς ἰστάτειν, καὶ εἰ τῷ σαββάτῳ ἀχαρτεῖν &c. It is not fit for *Christians*, saith the 29. *Canon*, to *Iudaize*, and doe no manner of worke on the Sabbath dayes, but to pursue their ordinarie labours on it. Conceive it so farre forth, as they were no impediment to the publike meetings then appointed. And in the close of all, εἰ δε εὐπεπειθεῖσθαι, ἐσωρεύειν αὐτοῖς χεῖσθαι. If any should be found so to play the *Jewes*, let them be *Anathema*. So *Athanasius*, though he defend the publike meetings on this day, stands strongly notwithstanding for the abrogation of the *Jewish Sabbath*. Not on the by, but in a whole discourse, writ and continued especially for that end and purpose, entituled *De Sabbatho & circumcisione*. One might conjecture by the title, by coupling of these two together, what his meaning was; that he conceived them both, to be of the same condition. And in his homily *De semente*, he tells us of the *New-moones* and *Sabbaths*, that they were vshers unto *Christ*, and to be in authoritie till the master came: Ελέγετος δὲ τῷ διδασκάλῳ λατρύειν δὲ παύσασθαι, καὶ μή ἀνατέλλειν δὲ λαυχνος ἐπίνυσσε. The Master being come, the *Vsber* grew out of all imployment, the *Sunne* once risen, the *lampe* was darkened. Two other of the Fathers which have said as much, and whereof we have spoken in a place more proper; adde *Nanianz. Orat. 43. S. Cyril of Hierusalem. Cat. 4. and Epiphanius* in the confutation

v. p. 1. chapr. 8.

of those severall hereticks, that held the Sabbath for a necessary part of Gods publike worship; and to be now obserued, as before it was. Of which kinde, over and above the *Ebionites* and *Cerinthians*, which before wee spake of, were the *Nazarei*, in the second Century, who, as this *Epiphanius* tells us, differed both from the *Iew* and *Christian*. First, from the *Jew*, in that they did beleefe in *Christ*, next from the *Christian*, διὸ τὸ εἰν τῷ νηστεῖαν δεῖν τοῦ καταβατοῦ κατεύθυντος αἵλοις, in that they still retaine the law, as *Circumcision*, and the *Sabbath*, and such things as those. And these I have the rather noted in this place and time, as being, so *Saint Austin* tells us, the *Ancestors* or *Originall* of the *Symmachiani*, who held out till this very *Age*, and stood as much for *Sabbaths* and legall ceremonies, as their founders did: whereof consult *S. Ambrose* preface to the *Galarians*. Now as these *Nazarens* or *Symmachiani*, had made a mixt religion of *Iew* and *Christian*; so did another sort of hereticks in these present times, contrive a miscellanie of the *Iew* and *Gentile*: *Idols* and *sacrifices* they would not have, and yet they worshipped the *fire* and *candle*. Τὸ δὲ σάββατον αἰδούειν, &c. The *Sabbath* also they much reverenced, and stood upon the difference of *uncleane* and *cleane*, yet by no meanes would be endued to like of *Circumcision*. These they called *Hypsistarij*; or rather so those doughty fellowes pleased to call themselves. Adde here that it was counted one of the great dotages of *Appollinaris*, and afterwards of all his sect, viz. that after the *last resurrection* every thing should be done againe, according to the former law: καὶ τάνιν ἡμέραν πετυχθῆτε, καὶ καθεῖτε, καὶ βερυτῷ αἴτησθε, &c. That we should be *circumcised*, and obserue the *Sabbath*, and abstaine from *meates*, and offer sacrifice, and finally of *Christians* become *Jewes* againe. Then which saith *Basil*, who reports it, what can bee more absurde, or more repugnant to the *Gospel*. By which it is most plaine and certaine, that though the *Chris-*

Cont. Cresco-
nium l. 8.

Nanianz.
Orat. 19.

Basil. ep. 74.

Christians of the East, retained the Saturday for a day of publicke meetings; yet they did never meane it to bee a Sabbath; reckoning them all for heretickes that soobserfed it.

Can. 21.

(7) Next let us looke upon the Sunday, what they did on that. For though it pleased the Emperour, by his royll edict to permit workes of *husbandry* in the Country and *manumissions* in the Citties, on that sacred day: yet probably there were some pure and pious soules, who would not take the benefit of the declaration; or thinke themselves beholding to him for so injurious and profane a dispensation. This we will search into exactly, that so the truth may be discovered. And first beginning with the Councell of *Eliberis*, (a Towne of Spaine) in the beginning of this Age, it was thus decreed. *Si quis in civitate positus, per tres dominicas ecclesiam non acceperit tanto tempore abstineat, ut correptus esse videatur.* If any inhabitant of the Citties absent himselfe from Church, threē Lords dayes together, let him be kept as long from the holy Sacrament, that he may seeme corrected for it. Where note, *Si quis in civitate positus*, the Cannon reacheth, unto such onely, as dwelt in Citties, neere the Church, and had no great businesse: those of the Country being left unto their *husbandry*, and the like affaires; no otherwise than in the Emperours Edict, which came after this. And in the Councell of *Laodicea*, not long after, which cleerely gave the Lords day place before the Sabbath; it is commanded that the Christians should not *Induire* on the Sabbath day, but that they should prefere the Lords day before it, and rest thereon from labour, if at least they could, but as Christians still. The Canon is imperfect as it stands in the Greeke text of *Binius* edition; no sense to be collected from it. But the translation of *Dionysius Exiguus*, which he acknowledgeth to be more neere the Greeke, then the other two, makes the meaning up. *Diem dominicum preferentes ociari oportet, si modo possint.* And this agreeably both unto *Zonaras* and *Balsamon*,

Can. 29.

mon, who doe so expound it, and saw no doubt the trueſt and most perfect copies. Thus then saith *Zonaras*. It is appointed by this Canon, that none abstaine from labour on the Sabbath day, which plainly was a Jewiſh custome; and an anathema layed on those who offend herein.

*In Canon.**Conc. Laod.*

“ *Απειρ δε επιρρειν κατα την κυριακην, &c.* but they are wil-“ led to rest from labour on the *Lords day*, in honour of“ the resurrection of our Lord and Saviour. But here“ we must observe that the Cannon addes, *ει δυνατο, in*“ *caſe they may.* For by the *civill law*, it is precisely“ ordered, that every man shall rest that day, *ενεν ην,*“ *γεωργοι* the hindes and *husband-men* excepted. His rea-“ son is the very same, with that expressed before in the Emperours Edict. *Exiiters γαρ εντη κυριακην επιρρειν επινοια, &c.* For unto them it is permitted to worke and tra-“ vaile on that day, because perhaps if they neglect it, they may not finde another day ſo fit and ſerviceable for their occasions. The like saith *Balsamon*, and more: but him we will reſerve for the 12 *Century* at whaſ time hee li-“ ved. *S. Hierome* long time after this, tells us of his *Egyptian Monkes, diebus dominicis orationi tantum & lectionibus vacare*, that they designed the *Lords day*, wholly, unto prayer and reading of the holy *Scriptures*, and that they did the like upon other dayes, *completis opusculis*, when their taske was finished. This plainly ſhewes that it was otherwise with the common people. For what neede *Hierome* have obſerved it, as a thing notable in his Monkes, and peculiar to them; that they ſpent all the *Lords day* in religious exerciſes, had other men ſo done, as well as they. But *Hierome* tells us more than this of *Paula*, a moſt devout and pious woman, who lived in *Bethlehem*, accompanied with many *Virgins* and poore *Widdowes*, in manner of a Nunnery. Of whom he ſaith that every *Lords day* they repared to the *Church of God*: *Et inde pariter revertentes instabant operi distribu- to, & vel ſibi vel caeteris vſimenta faciebant*, and after their returne from thence they ſet themſelves unto their taskes,

*ad Eufro-
chium.*

taskes which was the making garments for themselves or others: A thing which questionlesse so good a woman had not done, and much lesse ordered it to be done by others; had it beene then accounted an unlawfull Act. And finally S. Chrysostome, though in his popular discourses he seeme to intimate to the people, that God from the beginning did insinuate to them, that they should set apart *την μέραν ιεραν* in the weekes *της εβδομάδος*, one day in every weeke to his publicke worship, *Hom. 10.* in *Gen.* & that he calls upon them often *μηδε της εβδομάδης ιεραν ταῦτα ολην αναθένειν*, to destinate that one day, and that day *wholly* unto those imployments, as *Hom. 5.* in *Mat. 1.* yet hee confesseth at the last, that after the dismission of the Congregation, every man might apply himselfe to his lawfull businesse. Only he seemes offended with them, that they went presently to the workes of their *vocations* assoone as they came out of the Church of God; and did not meditate on the Word delivered to them. Therefore he wooeth them unto this, that presently upon their comming home, they would take the *Bible* into their hands, and recapitulate with their wives and children, that which had beene delivered from the Word of God: *καὶ στένε τῷ σωτήριῳ ἀπειδεῖν* and afterwards to goe about their worldly businesses. As for the time appointed to these publicke exercises, it seemes not to be very long. *Chrysostome* in the place before remembred saith that it was *μηδε της εβδομάδος μήποτε* a very small portion of the day: *Origen* more precisely hath layd it out, and limited the same, *ad unam aut duas horas ex die integro*, but to an houre, or two at most; no great space of time. Nor indeede could they hold them long, the Sermons being most times exceeding short, as may appeare by those of the antient Fathers, which are still extant in our hands, and the Library not so full as now it is.

(8) Let it then goe for granted, that such as dwelt in populous Citties (for of the Husbandman there is no question)

Sa. Hom. 3.
in 1oh. 3.

Hom. 5 in Math. I.

In Numer.
Hom. 2.

stion to be made) might lawfully apply themselves to their severall busineses, the exercises being ended, and the assembly broken up : may wee conceive it lawfull also for any man to follow his *honest pleasures* on the remainder of that day ; to *feast* it with his friends and neighbours, to *dance*, or *sport*, or to be merry in a *civill manner*. There is a little question of it ; For *feasting*, first we must take notice, how execrable a thing it was alwayes held, to fast the *Sunday* : though some now place a great part of their piety in their fond abstinence on that day. In this respect *Tertullian* tells us touching the *Christians* of his time, that they did hold it an *impiety* to fast the *Lords day* : *die dominico jejunium nefas esse ducimus*, as before we noted. Such an *impiety* that the very *Montanists*, though otherwise frequent in their *fasts*, did yet except this day and the former *Sabbath*, out of their *austerities* : as the same Author doth informe us *adv. Psyschicos*. What was *Ignatius* censure of the *Sundayes Fast*, we have seene already. In the declining of the third age arose the *Manichees*, and they revived the former dotage. *Dominica jejunare non possumus, quia Manicheos ob istius dici jejunia, merito damnamus*. Wee fast not on the *Lords day*, saith *S. Ambrose*, but rather doe condemne the *Manichees* for fasting on it ; Now what this Father sayd, he made good by practise. *Baronius* tells us out of *Paulinus*, *Annals. Anno 374* that he did never dine but on the *Saturday*, the *Sunday*, or the memorall of some *Martyr* : and that upon those dayes he did not onely cherish and releive the poore, *sed & viri clarissimi exciperentur*, but enterteined great persons, men of speciall eminence. *Vincentius Deputie of Gaul*, and Count *Arbogastis*, are there sayd by name to have beene often at his table upon those dayes before remembred : and doubt we not, but they had all things fit for such eminent persons. The like hath beene affirmed by *S. Austin* also : *Die dominica jejunare scandalum est magnum, &c.* It is a great offence or scandall to fast upon the *Lords day*, in these times especially, since the most damnable

damnable heresie of the *Manichees* came into the world; who have imposed it on their followers, as the Law of God, and thereby made the *Lords day* fast the more abominable. Now for an instance of his entertainments also upon this day, see *I. 22 de civitate dei c. 8.* This probably occasioned Pope *Melchiades*, who lived in the beginning of this present Centurie, to publish a decree, *Nedominica, neve feria quinta jejunaretur*, that no man should presume to fast upon the *Sunday*, or the *Thursday*. Not on the *Sunday*, as the day of the *Resurrection*, to cry downe the *Manichees*: nor on the *Thursday*, as a day of speciall credit amongst the *Gentiles*, the better to comply with them in those perillous times. After arose up one *Eutactus* (for so I rather choose to call him with the learned *Cardinall*, than yeeld to *Socrates*, who falsly doth impute these follies unto *Eustathius*:) and he would fast the *Sunday* too; but on another ground, or pretence of abstinence. A folly presently condemned in a Provinciall *Synod* held at *Gangra of Paphlagonia*; wherein it was determined thus *ει τις διὰ νομού οὐκεντρον εἰς νεανίαν υπεύθουι*, if any fasted on the *Lords day* on pretence of abstinence, he should be anathema. Next sprung up one *Aerius*, no good *Sundayes man*, but one that went not on so good a ground, as *Eutactus* did. He stood, good man, upon his *Christian liberty*, and needes must fast upon the *Lords day*, onely because the *Church* had determined otherwise. Of him *S. Austin* tells us in the generall, that hee cryed downe all settled and appointed fasts, and taught his fellowes this, that every man might fast as he saw occasion; *ne videatur sub lege*, lest else he should be thought to be under the *Law*. More punctually *Epiphanius* tells us, that to expresse this liberty, they used to fast upon the *Sunday*, and feast it (as some doe of late) upon the *Wednesday* and the *Friday*, antient fasting dayes. *Οὐεταρας αὐτοῖς περιποτίματα μάκαρος εἰς κωνάνην ἐνεγένετο, της αὐτοῦ οὐεταρας εἴσιεν* as that Author hath it. Adde that *S. Austin* tells us of this *Aerius*, that amongst other of his heresies,

Anno 319.

Conc. Tom. 2.
Can. 18.De heres.
c. 53.Heres 75.
n. 3.

heresies, he taught this for one, *Presbyterum ab Episcopo nulli differentia discerni debere*, that there should be no difference betweene *Priests* and *Bishops*; A pregnant evidence, that those who set themselves against the *Hierarchie* of the *Church* are the most likely men of all to overthrow all orders, in the *civill state*. Now as the *Manichees* did use to fast the *Sunday*, so were they there-in imitated by the *Priscillianists*, *manichaorum simillimos*, the very pictures of the *Manichees*, as *S. Austin* calls *Epl. 86.* them, save that these last did use to fast on the *Christmasse* also, & therein went beyond their patterne. And this they did as Pope *Leo* tells us *quia Christum dominum in veritate credunt*, because they would not be perswaded that *Christ* the *Lord* had tooke upon him our humane nature. To mee with these proude sectaries, for such they were, there was a councell called at *Saragossa, Cesarea Augusta* the *Latines* call it: wherein the Fathers censured, and anathematized all such as fasted on the *Lords day*, *causa temporis, aut persuasione, aut superstitionis*; whether it were in reference unto any time, or misperswasion, or superstition. In reference unto any times, this seemes to make the *Sundayes fast* unlawfull in the time of *Lent*, and so it was accounted without all question. For this looke *Epiphanius Expos. fid. Cathol. Num. 22. S. Ambr. de Elia c. 7 jejunio, cap. 10. S. Hierome epl. ad Lucinum. S. Chrysostome Hom. 11. in Gen. 2.* In two of which Foure-fathers, *Chrysostome* and *Ambrose*, the *Saturday* is excepted also. *S. Austin Epl. 86. Concil. Agathens. can. 12. Aurelianens. 4. can. 2. Humberti Resp. ad libellum Nicetæ*, and last of all *Rupertus*, who lived in the beginning of the 12. Centurie, to descend no lower; who withall tells us, that from the first *Sunday* in *Lent* unto *Easter day*, are 42. dayes just, whereof the *Church* fasteth onely the 36. it being prohibited by the *Canon* to fast upon the *day of the Resurrection*. *Ut igitur nostri solennitas jejunij dominico magis cooptetur exemplo, quatuor dies qui hanc dominicam precedunt, super-*

Conc. Tom. 1.
can. 2.De divinis
Offic. 1. 4. c. 9.

“superadditi sunt. Therefore, saith he, that the solemnity of our fast might come more neare the Lord’s example; the 4 dayes which occurre betweene Shroves tuesday and the first Sunday in Lent, were added to make up the number. But to come backe unto the times where before we left, partly in detestation of the heretickes before remembred, but principally in honour of the resurrection, the councell held at Carthage Anno 398 did decree it thus. *Qui die dominico studiose jejunat, non credatur Catholicum*, that he which of set purposed did fast the Sunday, should be held no Catholicke.

Can. 64.

Can. 88.

(9) For honest recreations next, I finde not any thing to perswade me that they were not lawfull: since those which in themselves were of no good name, no otherwise were prohibited in this present Age; then as they were an hindrance to the publicke service of the Church, For so it was adjudged in the Councell of Carthage, before remembred *Qui die solenni, prætermisso ecclesia solenni conventu, ad spectacula vadit, excommunicetur.* Hee that upon a solemne day shall leave the service of the Church, to goe unto the common shewes, be hee excommunicate: where by the way, this Canon reacheth unto those also who are offenders in this kinde, as well on any of the other festivalls, and solemne dayes, as upon the Sunday: and therefore both alike considerable in the present busynesse. But hereof, and the spectacula here prohibited, wee shall have better opportunitie to speake in the following Age. And here it is to bee observed, that as Saint Chrysostome before confessed it to be lawfull for a man to looke unto his worldly busynesse, on the Lord’s day, after the congregation was dismissed: so here the Fathers seeme to dispense with those, who went unto the common shewes, being worldly pleasures, though otherwise of no good name, as before we sayd, in case they did not pretermit Gods publicke service. Therefore wee safely may conclude, that they

conceived

conceived it not unlawfull for any man to follow his honest pleasures, such as were hamelesse in themselves and of good report, after the breaking up of the congregation. Of this sort questionlesse, were shooting and all manly exercises, walking abroad, or riding forth to take the aire, civill discourse, good company, and ingenuous mirth: by any of which the spirites may be quickned, and the body strengthned. Whether that dancing was allowed is a thing more questionable; and probably as the dauncings were in the former times, it might not be suffered: nay, which is more, it had beene infinite scandall to the Church, if they had permitted it. For we may please to know, that in the *dancings* used of old, throughout the principall Citties of the Roman Empire, there was much impurity and immodesty; such as was not to bee beheld by a Christian eye. Some times they *danced stark naked*, and that not privately alone, but in publicke feasts. This Cicero objects against *Lucius Piso, quod in convivio saltaret nudus*; the same he also casts in the teeth of *verres*: and *Deiotarus* was accused of the like immodesty, whereof perhaps he was not guilty. As for the *Women* they had armed themselves with the like strange impudency and though they *daunced* not naked in the open streeces, yet would be hired to attend naked at publicke feasts, and after prostitute themselves unto those guests, for entertainment of the which, they were thither brought, whereof see *Athenaeus Diplos. I. 12. & Sueton. in Tiberio, cap 42.* 43. And for their *dancings* in the publicke, they studied all those cunning and provoking Arts, by which they might entice young men to wantonnesse, and inflame their lusts; using lascivious gestures, and mingling with their *dances* most *immodest* songs: nay, which is more than this, sometimes of purpose laying open to the eye and view of the spectatour, those parts which womanhood and common honesty would not have uncovered. Saint Ambrose so describes them, and from him we take it. *An quicquam est tam pronum ad libidines, quam inconditis*

De virginib.
lib.3.

conditis matibus, ea. qua. natura abscondit, vel disciplina
nudavit, membrorum opera nudare, ludere oculis, ro-
tare cervicem, comam spargere? And in another place he
is more particular. *Mulieres in placis inverecudos sub
conspectu adolescentium interoperantur. choros ducunt,
jactantes comam, trahentes tunicas, scissa amictus, nude li-
certos, plaudentes manibus, personantes vocibus, saltantes
pedibus, irritantes in se juvenum libidines motu histrionic,
petulantia oculo, dedecoro so ludibrio.* The women, saith
the father, even in the sight of wanton and lascivious
youthies, *dance immodest dances*, tossing about their
hayre, drawing aside their coates that so they might
lay open what should not be seene; their garments o-
pen in many places for that purpose also, their armes
quite bare: clapping their hands, capering with their
feete, chanting obscene and filthy songs (for after-
wards he speakes *de obscenis cantibus*) finally stirring
up the lusts of ungoverned men, by those uncomely
motions, wanton looks, and shamefull spectacles. Saint
Basil in his tract. *de luxu & ebrietate*, describes them
much after the same manner; whereof see that father.
Yet thinke not that all women were so lewdly given,
or so immodest in their *dances*: but only common women
which most used those arts to increase their custome;
such as were muster'd up by a *Strato* King of the *Sdonians*,
to attend his banquetings; or such loose trulls as
Messalina, and others mentioned in the ^b Poet, who
^a Athen. Dip-
nos. L. 12.
c. 13.
^b Juvenal. Sat.
6. & 11.
and

and loose affections, which might perhaps breake out at
last in dishonest actions. This made the Fathers of this
Age, and of some that followed, inveigh as generally a-
gainst all *dancings*, as most unlawfull in themselves; so
more particularly, against the sport it selfe, and behol-
ding of the same, upon those dayes which were appoin-
ted to Gods worship. And to these kinde of *dancings*
and to none but these, must we referre those declama-
tions which are so frequent in their writings, whether
in reference to the thing, or unto the times. Two onely
in this Centurie, have spoke of dancing; as it reflects up-
on the day: *S. Chrysostome*, and *Ephrem Syrus*. Saint
Chrysostome though last in time shall be first in place,
διά τέτοια τερπνά αὐτὴν τιμᾶν, &c. Therefore, saith he, ^{De ecclesiis.}
we ought to solemnise, this day with spirituall honour, ^{orat. 2. T. 6.}
not making riotous feasts thereon, swimming in wine,
καὶ μεγάλας, καὶ πολλούς, drinking to drunkennesse, or
in wanton dancing; but in releeving of our poore and
distressed brethren. Where note that I have randred,
χορούσας, not simply, *dancing*, but *wanton dancing*, ac-
cording to the nature of the word, which signifieth such
dancings, as was mixt with *Songs*, according to the
fashion at this time in use, *χορεύω*, *choros agito*, *salto*, *tri-
pudio*, *proprie cum cantu*, as in the *Lexicon*: and for the
quality of the songs, which in those times they used in
dancing, that is shewne before, so that not *dancing*, sim-
ply, but *immodest dancing*, such as was then in use, is by
him prohibited. And to that purpose *Ephrem Syrus*, if
the worke be his; *Festivitates dominicas honorare contem-
nere, &c.* Endeavour earnestly, saith he, to honour the
Lords day, not in a wordly sort, but after a spirituall
manner; not as the *Gentiles* keepe their feasts, but as
Christians should. Amongst which customes of the
Gentiles that are there forbidden, one and the principale
is this, *non choreas ducamus*, that we use no *dances*, that is
no such *immodest* and *unleemely dancing*, as were
most practised by the *Gentiles*, and could not stand with
that

De Elia &
jean loc. 18.

that discrete, which pertained to Christians. This evident by that which Saint Ambrose tell's us, *Notum est omnibus, nugaces & turpes saltationes ab episcopis solere compesci*: it is well knowne, saith he, how carefully the Bishops doe restraine all toying, light, and beastly kinde of dances. So that in case the dauncings be not toying, light, nor beastly, as were the daunces of the Gentiles whom they reprehended; neither the fathers did intend them, nor the rulers of the Church restraine them.

Cod. Theod.

(10) For the Imperiall constitutions of this present Age, they strike all of them upon one and the selfe same string, with that of Constantine, before remembred: save that the Emperour Gratian, Valentinian and Theodosius, who were all partners in the Empire, set out an edict to prohibit all publicke shewes upon the Sunday. *Nullus dic Soli spectaculum praebeat, nec divinam venerationem, confecta solennitate, confundat.* Such was the Letter of the Law: which being afterwards enlarged by Theodosius the younger, who lived in the next Centurie, we shall meeke with their. The other Edicts which concerne the busynesse that is now in hand, were onely explanations and additions, unto that of Constantine: one in relation to the matter, the other in reference to the time. First in relation to the matter, whereas all Judges were restrained by the law of Constantine, from sitting on that day, in the open Court, there was a clause, now added touching Arbitrators, that none should arbitrate any litigious cause, or take cognizance of any pecuniary busynesse on the Sunday: *Debetum publicum, privatumque nullus efflagitet: nec apud ipso quidem arbitros, vel in iudicis flagitatos, vel sponte electos, nulla sit agitatio iugiorum*: a penalty being inflicted upon them that transgressed herein. This published by the same thrse Emperours, Honorius and Eudius, being that yeere consuls, which was in Anno 384; as the former was. Afterwards Valentinian and Valens Empe-

Cod. Theodos.

4.8.8.8.

Emperours were pleased to adde, *neminem christianum ab exhortibus conveniri volumus*; that they would have no Christians brought upon that day, before the officers of the Exchequer. In reference to the time, it was thought good by Valentinian, Theodosius and Arcadius, all three Emperours together, to make some other Festivalls capable of the same exemption. For whereas formerly all the time of harvest and of Autume, was exempt from pleadings; as that the Catends of Iannary or the new-yeares day, as now wee call it, had antiently beene honoured with the same immunitie: these added thereunto, the dayes on which the two great Citties of Rome and Constantinople had beene built; the seaven dayes before Easter day and the seaven that followed; together with every Sunday in its course; yea and the birth-dayes of themselves, with those on which each of them had began his Empire: *sanctos quoque Pascha dies qui septeno vel precedent numero vel sequuntur in eadem observatione numeramus: nec non & dies Solis* (so they call it all) *qui repetito inter se calculo revolvuntur. Parem necesse est haberi reverentiam et iam nostris diebus, qui vel lucis auspicia, vel imperij ortus protulere.* Dated VII. Id. Aug. Timafus and Promotus Consuls, which was 389. So that in this regard, the sacred day had no more priviledge than the ci-vill, but were all alike; the Emperours day as much respected as the Lords.

(11) Now as the dayes were thus established, so was the forme of worship on those dayes established, brought unto more perfection than it had beene formerly, when their assemblies were prohibited, and their meetings dangerous, or at least not so safe and free as in this fourth Centurie. For in these times, if not before, the Priests that waited at the Altar, attired themselves in a distinct habit at the ministracion, from what they were on other dayes: the colour white, and the significancie thereof to denote that holinesse wherewith the Priests of God ought to be apparelled; such as the Surplices now in use in the Church.

Cod Theodos.

1. 2. 8. 8.

Adv. Pelag.
lib. I.

Hom. 83 in
Math 26.

Cap. 9.

Church of *England*. Witnesse *S. Hierome* for the *West*, that in the ministracion they used a different habit from that of ordinary times. *Religio divina alterum habitum habet in ministerio, alterum in usu vitaque communi*: So for the generall he informes us. For the particular next in a reply unto *Pelagius*, who it seemes disliked it, he askes him what offence it could be to God, that Bishops, Priests, Deacons, or those of any other inferiour order, in *administratione sacrificiorum candida veste processerint*, did in the ministracion of the *Eucharist* bestirre themselves in a *white Vesture*. And so *S. Chrysostome* for the *East*, telling the *Priest* of *Antioch*, unto how high a calling the Lord had called them; and how great power they had to repell unworthy men from the Lords Table: addes, that they were to reckon that for their *Crowne & glory*, and not that they were priviledged to goe about the Church in a *white garment*. *Τέτοιοι μάρτυρες αὐτοί, ταῦτο γεγνόντες απασχόλησαν λεῖψαν γένος τοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ αποστολούσι τηρεῖσαι τὸν πατρὸν τοῦ θεοῦ, οὐκέτι οὐδὲν εἰσίν*. Nor did the *Priests* onely thus avow his calling. The people wanted not some outward *signes* and *ceremonies*, wherewith to honour their *Redeemer*; and testifie unto the world that they were his servants: and that by *bowing* of the *knee*, which in those parts and times was the greatest *signe*, both of *humblety* and *subjection*. *Bowing* the *knee*, in honour of their *Saviour*, at the name of *Iesu*; and reverendly *kneeling* on their *knees*, when they received the *Sacrament* of the *Lords Supper*. *S. Ambrose* tells us of the first, in his sixth Book *de opere Hexaemeri*, where speaking of the office of each severall member, he makes the *bowing* of the *knee* at the name of *Iesus*, the proper duty of that part. *Flexibile genu quo præ cæteris domini mitigatur offensa, &c.* The *knee* saith he, is *flexible*, by which especially the anger of the *Lord* is mitigated, his displeasure pacified, and his grace obtained. *Hoc, enim patris summi erga filium donum est ut in nomine I E S V omne genu curvetur*. For this, saith he, did the most mighty father give as a *speciall gift* to his onely sonne,

PART 2. *the Sabbath.*

that at the name of Jesus every knee should bow. This makes the matter plaine enough, we neede goe no further, yet somewhat to this purpose may be seene also in S. Hierome in his Comment on the 46. of Esay ; For kneeling or adoring at the instant of receiving the holy Sacrament, the same S. Ambrose on those words *Adore his footeſtoole*, ^{De Sp. 59.} doth expound it thus. *Per ſcabellum terra intelligitur*, ^{lib. 3. cap. 22.} *per terram autem caro Christi, quam hodie quoque in myſterijs adoramus*. By the footeſtoole here, wee are to understand the *Eaſter*, and by the Earth the flesh of Christ, which wee *adore* in the holy mysteries : which plainly shewes what was the custome of these times. And to S. Chrysſtome tells his Audience, that the great King hath made ready his Table, *[πάντα ταῦτα καὶ τοὺς ἄγγελοὺς]* the Angels ministring at the ſame, the King himſelfe in preſence, why then ſtand they ſtill ? In caſe they are pro-vided of a *wiſhing garment*, why doe they not fall downe, and then communicate, *Ἄντα καθηγεῖτε; εὐθὺς ἀνα-πονεῖτε*. *Adora & communica* as the Latin renders it. Where that the word *adoration* ſeeme a little ſtrange, we may take notice that it is ſo uſed by Bishop Jewell. *The Sacrament, faith he, in that ſort i.e. in reſpect of that* ^{Deſcenc. Art. 5.} *which they ſignifie, and not in reſpect of that which they are in themſelves, are the flesh of Christ and are ſo understood, and believed and adored*. And in another place of the ſame 8. Article, *Nor doe we onely adore Christ, as very God: but we doe also worſhip and reverence the Sacrament, and holy mysteries of Chrifts body: yet ſo that we adore them not with godly honour, as we doe Christ himſelfe: So more hereof in Cyril, Bishop of Hierusalem, Catich. 5. where adora. is exprefly mentioned: and for the cloſe of all, that which is told us by S. Austin, how in his time the Gentiles charged it on the Christians, that they did wor-ſhip Ceres and Bacchus; which was occaſioned queſti- onleſſe by reaſon of their kneeling or adoring, when they received the bread and wine in the holy Sacrament. Not that this uſe of kneeling or adoring, was not more antient ^{Cont. Faſt.} ^{Manich. lib.} ^{20. cap. 13.} in*

Hom. 3 in
Ephes.

Defenc. Art. 8.

Cont. Faust.
Manich. lib.
20. cap. 1. 3.

in the Church, for such a custome may be gathered both out of *Origen* and *Tertullian*, in the age before : but that this age affords us the most cleare and perfect evidence, for the prooфе thereof. So for the musicke used in the Congregation, it grew more exquisite in these times than it had beeне formerly : that which before was onely a melodious kind of pronunciation, being now ordered into a more exact and artificiall harmonie. This change was principally occasioned by a Canon of the Councell of *Laodicea*, in the first entrance of this age. For where before it was permitted unto all promiscuously to sing in the Church ; it was observed that in such dissonancie of voyces, and most of them unskilfull in the notes of musicke, there was no small jarring and unpleasant sounds. This Councell thereupon ordained,

*Conc. Laodic.
Can. 15.*

*Confess. I. 10.
cap. 33.*

Ibid.

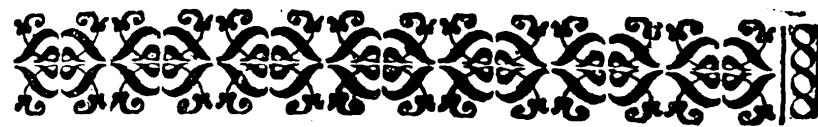
μέσον τῶν οὐρανῶν Φαλλῶν, &c. εἴτε τις ταῦτα εἰ ἔχει, that none should sing hereafter in the Congregation, but such as were Canonically appointed to it, and skilfull in it. By meanes whereof before the shutting up of this fourth Centurie the musicke of the Church, became very perfect and harmonious ; *suavi et artificiose voce cantata*, as *S. Austin* tells us. So perfect and harmonious, that it did worke exceedingly on the affections of the hearers, and did *moveare animos ardentius inflammam pietatis*, inflame their mindes with a more lively flame of piety ; taking them prisoners by the eares, and so conducting them unto the glories of Gods kingdome. *S. Austin* attributes a great cause of conversion, to the powers thereof, calling to minde those frequent teares *quaes fudi ad cantus ecclesiarum*, which had beeне drawne from him by this sacred musicke ; by which his soule was humbled, and his affections raised to an height of godlinesse. The like he also tells us, in his ninth Booke of *Confessions*, and sixth Chapter. Nor doubt we but it did produce the same effect on divers others ; who comming to the Churches, as he then did, to bee partakers of the musicke return'd prepared in minde, & well disposed in their intentions, to be converted unto God. Now that

the Church might be frequented at the times appointed, and so all secret *Conventicles* stopped, in these divided times wherein so many heresies did domineare ; and that the itching eares of men might not perswade them to such Churches where God had not placed them, so to discourage their owne proper minister : it pleased the Fathers in the Councell of *Saragossa*, Anno 368. or thereabouts to decree it thus. First, *Ne latibus cubiculorum et montium habitent qui in suspicione perseverent* ; that none who were suspected (of *Priscillianisme*, which was the humour that then reigned) should lurke in secret corners, eyther in houses or in hills ; but followes the example and direction of the Priests of God. And secondly, *ad alienas villas agendorum conventuum causa, non convenienter* ; that none should goe to other places, under pretence of joyning there to the assemblie, but keepe themselves unto their owne. Which prudent *Constitutions*, upon the selfe same pious grounds are still preserved amongst us in the Church of *England*.

(12) Thus doe wee see upon what grounds the *Lords day* stands ; on custome first, and voluntary consecration of it to *religious meetings* ; that custome countenanced by the authority of the Church of God, which tacitely approved the same ; and finally confirmed and ratified by *Christian Princes* throughout their Empires. And as the day, so rest from *labours* and restraint from busynesse upon that day, received its greatest strength from the supreme *magistrate*, as long as hee reteined that power which to him belonged, as after from the *Canons* and decrees of *Councells*, the *Decretals of Popes*, and orders of particular *Prelates*, when the sole managing of Ecclesiasticall affaires was committed to them. I hope it was not so with the former *Sabbath*, which neyther tooke originali from custome, that people being not so forward to give God a day ; nor required any countenance or authority from the Kings of *I'rael* to confirme and ratifie it. The *Lord* had spake the word, that hee would have

have one day in seaven, precisely the seventh day from the worlds creation, to be a day of rest unto all his people: which sayd, there was no more to doe, but gladly to submit and obey his pleasure; *nec quicquam reliquum erat preter obsequij gloriam*, in the greatest Prince. And this done all at once, not by degrees, by little and little, as he could see the people affected to it, or as hee found it fittest for them; like a *probation Law* made to continue till the *next session*, and then on further liking to hold good for ever; but by a *plaine and peremptory order* that it should be so, without further tryall. But thus it was not done in our present businesse. The *Lords day* had no such command that it should bee *sanctified*, but was left plainly to Gods people, to pitch on this, or any other, for the *publicke use*. And being taken up amongst them, and made a day of meeting in the congregation for religious exercises; yet for 300. yeares there was neyther *Law* to binde them to it, nor any *rest from labour* or from worldly busineses required upon it. And when it seemed good unto *Christian Princes*, the nursing Fathers of Gods Church, to lay restraints upon their people, yet at the first they were not generall: but onely thus, that certaine men in certaine places should lay aside their ordinary and daily workes, to attend Gods service in the Church; those whose employments were most toylesome, and most repugnant to the true nature of a *Sabbath*, being allowed to follow and pursue their labours, because most necessary to the Common-wealth. And in the following times, when as the *Prince* and *Prelate*, in their severall places, indeavoured to restraine them from that also, which formerly they had permitted, and interdicted almost all kinde of bodily labour upon that day; it was not brought about without much strugling, and on opposition of the people: more than a thousand yeares being past, after *Christs ascention*, before the *Lords day* had attained that state in which now it standeth; as will appeare at full in the following story. And being

being brought unto that state, wherein now it stands, it doth not stand so firmly and on such sure grounds, but that those powers which raised it up, may take it lower if they please, yea take it quite away, as unto the time, and settle it on any other day, as to them seemes best, which is the doctrine of some Schoole men, and diverse Protestant writers of great name and credit in the world? A power which no man will presume to say was ever challenged by the *Ierkes* over the *Sabbath*. Besides, all things are plainly contrary in these two dayes, as to the purpose & intent of the *institution*. For in the *Sabbath*, that which was principally aimed at, was *rest from labour*, that neyther they nor any that belonged unto them, should doe any manner of worke upon that day, but sit still, and rest themselves. Their meditating on Gods Word, or on his goodnes, manifested in the worlds Creation, was to that an *accessory*: and as for *reading of the Law* in the Congregation, that was not taken up in more than 1000. yeares after the *Law* was given; and being taken up came in by *ecclesiasticall ordinance onely, no divine authority*. But in the *institution* of the *Lords day*, that which was principally aimed at, was the performance of religious and *Christian* duties hearing the *Word*, receiving of the *Sacraments*, praying the *Lord* for all his mercies, and praying to him joynly with the *Congregation*, for the continuance of the same *Rest* and cessation from the workes of *labour*, came not in till afterwards; and then but as an *accessory* to the former duties, and that not settled and established in a 1000. yeare, as before was sayd: when all the proper and peculiar duties of the day, had beeene at their perfectiōn along time before. So that if we regard either *institutions*, or the *authority* by which they were so *instituted*; the *end and purpose* at the which they principally aimed, or the *proceedings* in the *settling and confirming* of them: the difference will be found so great, that of the *Lords day*, no man can affirme in sence and reason, that it is a *Sabbath*, or so to be observed as the *Sabbath* was.



CHAP. IV.

The great improvement of the
Lords day, in the fist and sixt
Ages, make it not a Sabbath.

(1) In what estate the Lords day stood in S. Austins time. (2) Stage-playes, and publick shewes prohibited on the Lords day, and the other holy dayes, by Imperiall Edicts. (3) The base and beastly nature of the Stage-playes, at those times in use. (4) The barbarous and bloody quality of the Spectacula, or shewes at this time prohibited. (5) Neyther all civil businesse, nor all kind of pleasure, restrained on the Lords day, by the Emperour Leo; as some give it out. The so much cited Canon of the Councell of Mascon, proves no Lords day Sabbath. (6) The French and Spaniards in the sixt Age, begin to Iudaize about the Lords day, and of restraint of husbandry on that day, in that age first thought of. (7) The so much cited Canon of the Councell of Mascon proves no Lords day Sabbath. (8) Of publicke honours done in these Ages, to the Lords day, by Prince and Prelate. (9) No evening service on the Lords day, till these present ages. (10) Of publicke orders now established, for the better regulating of the Lords day-meetings. (11) The Lords day not more reckoned of, than the greater festivalls: and of the other holy dayes, in these ages instituted. (12) All businesse and recreation not by Law prohib-

prohibited, are in themselves as lawfull on the Lords day, as on any other.

(3)



E e are now come unto the times, wherein the *Church* began to settle; having with much adoe got the better hand of *Gentilisme*, and mastered those stiffe heresies of the *Arians*, *Macedonians*, and such others as descended from them. Vnto those times wherein the troubles which before distracted her peace and quiet, being well appeased; all things began to grow together in a perfect harmony: what time the faithfull being united, better than before in points of judgement, became more uniforme in matters of *devotion*, and in that uniformitie did agree together, to give the *Lords day* all the honour of an *holy festivall*. Yet was not this done all at once, but by degrees: the fift and sixt Centuries being well nigh spent, before it came unto that height, which hath since continued. The *Emperours* and the *Prelates* in these times had the same affections; both earnest to advance this *day* above all others, and to the *Edicts* of the one, and Ecclesiasticall *constitutions* of the other, it stands indebted for many of those priviledges and exemptions, which it still enjoyeth. But by degrees, as now I sayd, and not all at once: For in *S. Austin* time, who lived in the beginning of this fift Century, it was no otherwise with the *Lords day* then as it was before, in the former Age; accounted one of those set dayes, & probably the principall which was designed, and set apart for Gods publicke worship. Amongst the writings of that Father, which are his unquestionably, we finde not much that doth conduce to our present businesse: but what we finde, we shall communicate, with as much brevity

as we can. The *Sundayes fast* he doth abhominate, as a publicke scandall. *Quis deum non offendit, si velit cum Epi. 86. scandalo totius ecclesiae, die dominico jejunare.* The exercise of the day, he describes in briefe, in this forme that fol-

l. 22. c. 8.
Decivit.

loweth. *Venit Pascha atque ipso die dominico mane, frequens populus praesens erat. Facto silentio, divinarum Scripturarum lecta sunt solennia, &c.* Easter was come, and on "the Lords day in the morning the people had assembled themselves together. All being silent and attent, those "lessons out of holy Scripture, which were appointed "for the time were read unto them, when wee were "come unto that part of the publicke service, "which was allotted for the *Sermon*. I spake unto "them what was proper for the present festivall, and "most agreeable to the time. Service being done, I tooke "the man along to dinner, (a man hee meanes, that had "recovered very strangely in the Church that morning) who told us all the story of those sad calamities, which had befallen him. This is not much but in this little there are two things worth our observation. First, that the *Sermon* in those times was not accounted eyther the onely, or the principall part of Gods publicke service; but onely had a place in the *Common Liturgy*: which place was probably the same, which it still retaines, *post Scripturarum solennia*, after the reading of the *Gospel*. Next that it was not thought unlawfull in this Fathers time to talke of secular and humane affaires upon this day, as some now imagine; or to call friends or strangers to our *Table*, as it is supposed: *S. Austin* being one of so strict a life, that he would rather have put off the invitation and the story both to another day; had hee so conceived it. Nor doth the Father speake of *Sunday*, as if it were the onely *festivall* that was to be observed of a *Christian* man. Other *festivities* there were which he tells us of. First generally, *Nos quoque & dominicum diem, & Pascha, solenniter celebramus, & quilibet alias Christianas dierum festivitates.* The *Lords day*, *Easter*,

*Cont. Adi-
mant. c. 16.*

and all other Christian festivalls were alike to him : And hee enumerates some particulars too, the *resurrection, passion, and ascension of our Lord & Saviour*, together with the *comming of the holy Ghost*: which constantly were celebrated, *anniversaria solennitate*. Not that there were no other festivalls then observed in the Christian Church, but that those fourre were reckoned to be *Apostolical*, and had beene generally received in all ages past. As for the *Sacrament*, it was not tyed to any day, but was administered indifferently, upon all alike, except it were in some few places, where it had beene restrained to this day alone. *Alij quotidie communicant corpori & sanguini dominico, alijs certis diebus accipiunt: alibi Sabbato tantum & dominico, alibi tantum dominico*, as he then informes us. As for those workes ascribed unto him, which eyther are not his, or at least are questionable ; they informe us thus : The tract *de rectitudine Cathol. conversationis*, adviseth us to be attent and silent all the time of Divine Service, not telling tales, nor falling into jarres and quarrels, as being to answere such of us as offend therein, for a double fault : *Dum nec ipse verbum Dei audit, nec alios audiens permittit*, as neyther hearkening to the Word of God our selves, nor permitting others. In the 251. Sermon, inscribed *De tempore*, wee are commanded to lay aside all worldly busynesses, *in solennitatibus sanctorum, & maxime in dominicis diebus*, upon the festivalls of the *Saints*, but the *Lords day* specially : that wee may be the readier for divine imployments : Where note, that whosoever made the *Sermon*, it was his purpose, that on the *Saints dayes* men were to forbear all worldly busynesses ; and not upon the *Lords day* onely, though on that especially. And in the same it is affirmed, that the *Lords day* was instituted by the *Doctors of the Church, Apostles and Apostolical men* ; the honours of the *Iewish Sabbath*, being by them transferred unto it. *Sancti ecclesiastici Doctores omnem Iudaici Sabbathismi gloriam in illam transference decreverunt*. It seemes some used to hunt on

the

the *Lords day* then ; for there it is prohibited as a devillish exercise : *Nullus [in die dominico] in venatione se occupet, & diabolico mancipetur officio*, with command enough. Nay in the 244. of those *de tempore*, it is injoyed above all things, with an *ante omnia*, that no man meddle with his wife, eyther upon the *Lords day*, or the other *holy dayes*. *Ante omnia quoties dies dominicus, aut alia festivitates veniunt, uxorem suam nullus agnoscat* ; which I the rather note, though not worth the noting, that those who are pressed with so poore a fancie, (and some such there be) would please to be as carefull of the *holy dayes*, as of the *Sundayes*, being alike expressed in the Prohibition : One may conjecture easily both by the stile, and by the state of things then being, in the Christian Church, that neyther of these Sermons (not to say any thing of the rest which concerne us not) could be writ by *Austin* the latter, every thing therein considered by no man of wisedome.

(2) I say as things then were in the Christian Church, that *Sermon* was not likely to bee *Saint Austines*. It had beene too much rashnesse to prohibit hunting, being in it selfe a lawfull sport : when such as in thcmselfes were extreamely evill, and an occasion of much sinne, were not yet put downe. The *Cirque* and *Theater* were frequented hitherto, aswell upon the *Lords day* as on any other : and they were first to be removed, before it could be seasonable to inhibit a lawfull pleasure. Somewhat to this effect, was done in the *Age* before : the Emperours *Gratian, Valentinian, and Theodosius*, having made a law that no man should exhibit any publicke shew upon the *Sunday*, as before we noted. But this prevailed not at the first. And thereupon the Fathers of the Council of *Carthage*, in the first yeare of this first Centurie, did then and there decree by publicke order, to make petition to the Emperour then being : *ut spectacula theatrorum, ceterorumque ludorum die dominica, vel ceteris religionis Christiana diebus solennibus, amoveantur, &c.*

Their suite was double, first that the *shewes* exhibited on the *theaters*, and other plaies then used, might no more be suffered on the *Lords day*, or any other festivall of the Christian Church, especially on the *Octaves* of the feast of *Easter*, what time the people used to goe in greater numbers unto the *Cirque* or *shew-place*, than the house of God. Then that for other dayes, no man might bee compelled to repare unto them, (as they had beene formerly) as being absolutely repugnant unto Gods commandements: but that all people should be left at liberty to goe or not to goe, as they would themselves. *Nec oportere quenquam christianorum ad huc spectacula cogi &c. Sed uti oportet homo in libera voluntate subfistul, sibi divinitus concessa*; so the *Canon*. The Emperour *Theodosius* thereupon enacted, that on the *Lords day*, on the feast of *Christs Nativity*, and after to the *Epiphanie* or *twelfth day*, as we call it commonly; as also on the feast of *Easter*, and from thence to *Whitsontide*, the *Cirques* & *Theaters* in all places should be shut up: that so all faithfull *Christian* people might wholly bend themselves to the service of God. *Dominico qui totius septimana primus est dies, & Natale atque Epiphaniorum Christi, Pascha etiam & Quinquagesima diebus &c. Omni theatrorum atque Circensium voluptate per universas urbes eundem populis denegata; tota Christianorum & fidelium mentes dei cultibus occupentur.* So farre the letter of the law, which was enacted at *Constantinople*, the first of *February Anno 425*. *Theodosius* the second time, and *Valentinian* being that yeare *Consuls*. Where still observe, how equally the principall festivities, and the *Lords day*, were matched together: that being held unlawfull for the one, which was conceived so of the other. And so it stood, untill the Emperour *Leo*, by two severall Edicts, advanced the *Lords day* higher than before it was, and made it singular above other festivalls, as in some other things, of which more anon; so in this particular. For in an Edict by him sent unto *Amasius*, at

Cod.Theodos.

at that time *Captaine of his Guard*, or *Prefectus pretorio*, he enacts it thus. First generally, *Dies festos, dies al-* *Cod.1.3. tit.12.* *tissima malestati dedicatos, nullis volumus voluptatibus deseris.* *occupari*; that he would have *holy dayes*, which had beene dedicated to the supreame majesty, not to be taken up with pleasures. What would he have no *pleasures* used at all, on the *holy dayes*? No, he saith not so, but onely that they should not *wholly* be taken up with *sports* and *pleasures*; no time being spared for pious and religious duties; Nor doth he barre all *pleasures* on the *Sunday* neither, as wee shall see anon in the law it selfe; but onely base, obscene, and voluptuous *pleasures*. Then more particuarly for the *Lords day* thus, in reference to the point in hand, that neither *theater* nor *Cirque* fight nor combatings with wilde beasts, should be used thereon: and if the *birth day* or *inauguration* of the Emperour, fell upon the same, that the *solemnities* thereof should be referred to another day: no lesse a penaalty than losse of dignity, and confiscation of estate, being layd on them that should offend against his pleasure. But for the better satisfaction, take so much of the law it selfe, as concernes this busynesse. *Nihil eadem die vendicet scena theatraialis, aut Circense certamen, aut ferarum lacrymosa spectacula: Etiam, si in nostrum ortum aut natalem celebranda solennitas inciderit, differatur. Ammissionem militie, proscriptiōneque patrimonij sustinebit, si quis unquam spectaculis hoc die interesse, [präsumpscrit.]* Given at *Constantinople*, *Martian* and *Zeno* being *consuls*; *469* of our Saviours birth.

(3) Now for the things prohibited in these severall Edicts, we will take notice of two chiefly, the sports accustomed to bee showne on the *stage* or *theater*; and those *Spectacula*, wherein men with beasts, and sometimes men with men did use to fight together in the *Cirque* or *shew-place*: 1. that we may know the better what these Princes aimed at, and what the fathers meane in their frequent invectives against *playes* and *shewes*. And

first

first for that which first is named, the scene or stage-play, though they arose from poore beginnings, yet they attained at last to an infinite impudence; such as no modest eye could endure to see, or care to heare. The whole contexture of the Poems, wanton and lascivious; the speeches most extreamely farded, and obscene; the action such as did not so much personate; as performe all base kinde of vices. Their women, as their parts were framed, did many times act naked, on the open stage; and sometimes, did performe the last acts of lust, even in the sight of all spectators: then which what greater scorne could be given to nature, what more immodest spectacle could be represented to the eye of heaven. This *Cesar Bullinger* assures us, and withall makes it the chiese cause why both profane and sacred Authors did cry downe the stage, as being a place of such uncleanness: *Authores omnes cum sacri tum profani, spurcitem scene exigitant, non modo quod fabula obscene in scena agerentur, sed etiam quod motus gestusque effent impudici, atque adeo prostibula ipsa in scenam saepe venirent, & scena prostarent.* So he: Nor hath he done them wrong, or delivered any thing, without good authority. *Lactantius* and *Tertullian*, have affirmed as much, and from them he had it: moulding up into one relation, what they had severally reported. First for their *Women*, acting naked, *Lactantius* saith that so it was in all their playes, devoted to the memory of their Goddesse *Flora*. *Exiuntur vestibus populo flagitante meretrices, qua tunc mimorum funguntur officio,* " &c. The whores, which used to act those parts, (for " who else would doe it) were by the people importuned to put off their cloathes, which they did accordingly; and being naked personated, as the *Mimicks* used all shamelesse and immodest gestures, till the most impudent eye amongst them was glutted with so foule a spectacle. Then for the other filthiness, *Tertullian* tells us, that the common prostitutes, such as received the fits of all the towne, like the common shewers

De theatro
lib. 1.

De scens. vel.
h. 1. c. 20.

De spectacu.
l. cap. 17.

shewers, performed those beastly acts on the publicke stage, and which was yet more shamefull, in the sight and presence of the selfe same sexe. *Ipsa etiam prostibula, publica libidinis hostiae, in scena proferuntur, plus misera in De gubern. presentia feminarum*, as that Author hath it. And sure Det. 1.6. there must be in them, some extreame impurities, when *Salvian* a godly Bishop of this Age, hath told us of them, that such they were *Vt ea non solum dicere, sed etiam recordari, aliquis sine pollutione non possit*: that none could speake, no not so much as thinke of them, without some infection. Such, that whereas all other crimes, of what kinde soever, murder, adultery, and theft, and sacrilege, and others of that heinous nature, might without any breach of *Modesty*, be accused and censured: *Sola impuritatis theatrorum sunt, qua honeste non possunt vel accusari*, the basenesse of the theaters was so transcendent, that no man could accuse them, but must put off modesty. No mervaile therefore if the fathers both of this and the former Ages, used to declame so much against them, and to cry them downe; at least to weane the people from them: as being the *bane of chastity*, the *Shipwracke of the Soule*, the *devils temples*, the *scandall of the world*, and the *shame of nature*. No merveile if the Councell held in *Carthage*, in the *Age* before, or any of the *Christian writers* of these present times, *Salvian*, and *Chrysostome*, and the rest, so highly censured those, who left the *Church* and publicke service of the Lord, to goe to those impure delights, and unmanlike spectacles: for that the *Fathers* in the same place assembled, in this present *centurie*, agreed so well together to petition the *Emperours* then being, to redresse this mischiefe; or lastly that the *Emperours* of these times, sent out their *Edicts*, to prohibit such *unchristian* sports.

(4) As wicked, as *unchristian*, were those other shewes against which the selfe same *Fathers* doe enveigh, against the which the *foresayd Councels* did petition, and the good *Emperours* before remembred, made their severall

verall *lames*; though of a very different nature: *they* worthily abominated for their *filthy basenesse*; and *the* as much to be detested for their *inhumanity*. It was the custome of the great ones in the State of *Rome*, to court the favour of the people, by enterteining them with se-veral *shewes*; which in the end became replete with all kinde of *cruelty*; which fashion afterwards was re-tained among the *Emperours*, the better to content the vulgar, and keepe them in a good opinion of the preuent change. Sometimes they enterteined their humours by presenting them with diverse sorts of *cruell* and *outlan-dish* beasts; which being brought into the place appoin-ted, were chased and hunted up and downe, by such as were condemn'd to dye, or otherwise would adventure for reward and hire: In which it hapned many times, that many a man was made a prey unto *Beares* and *Ly-ons*, and other beasts of the like feirce and ciuell nature: and therefore in the *Emperours law* before recited, are justly called *ferarum lachrymosa spectacula*; a most pro-per *Epithite*. Sometimes againe they would present them with a *shew* of *fencers*, not such as played at *Cud-gells*, or with *swords rebated*, onely to shew their *activenessse*, and teach men how to use their weapons: but such as in good earnest were to fight it out and not give over till the victory was made good by death. And these I take to be *Cirque-fights*, or the *Circense cer-tamen*, principally in the law prohibited. *Tertullian* tells us of the first, *ferarum voluptati satis non fieri, nisi et feris humana corpora dissiparentur*; that they conceived the beasts had not sport enough, unles they tore in peeces the wretched bodies of poore men. And to the other, we may well apply the words of *Cyprian*, *Quid potest inhumanus quid acerbus dici? disciplina est ut perimere quis possit gloria quod peremit*. What, saith the Father, can be told that is more *cruell* more *inhumane*. *Murder* is growne in-to an *Art*, and they that kill most, have the greatest honour. And so indeed they had, there being rewards designed

Despectas.

Epi. 2. lxx.

designed for them, that came off with victory: *liberty*, if they had beene *Bondmen*; if *freemen*, sometimes *money* and sometimes a *garland of palme-tree*, which being wound about with certaine *wollen ribbands* called *Lem-nisci*, had generally the name of *Palma Lemniscata*. With *Despectas*, this *Tertullian* doth upbraide the *Roman* people, that sometimes they would cry out, to have a notable mur-derer cast unto the *Lyons*: *Idem gladiatori atroci rudem pe-tunt, & pilcum premium conferunt*, the selfesame men would have some *cruell* *swash-buckler* or *Gladiator*, re-warded with a *Rod* and *cappe*, the signes of *freedome*. These *barbarous* and *bloody* *fights*, being so farre dif-ferent from the spirit of *meekenesse*, which was the badge and proper cognizance of a *Christian*; were therefore bitterly inveighed against by the antient writers, the Re-verend Fathers of the *Church*: and such as harkened not to their exhortations, esteemed as men given over to a *reprobate fence*; such as had cast away their *livery*, and forsooke their *Master*. The nature of these *fights*, and the opinion had of those that did frequent them, wee cannot better shew then by the story of *Alipius*, as *S. Au-stin* tells it; and is briefly this, *Quidam amici ejus & con-discipuli, &c.* Some friends of his meeting him as hee came from dinner, with a familiar kind of violence, for-“ced him against his will to go with them into the *Am-“phiteator* (for there these sports were sometimes held) “*crudelium & funestorum ludorum diebus*, upon a day “designed to these *cruell* pastimes. He told them by the “way, that though they haled his body with them, yet “should his eyes and soule bee free from these bloody “spectacles, *cum talia aversaretur & detestaretur*, which “of himselfe he so detested. But thither he went and “tooke his place, and presently closed his eyes that he “might not see those dismal *sights*, which were before “him. When as the fight waxed hot, *et omnia fer-“bant immanissimis voluptatibus*, and all were taken up “with those *unmercifull delights*, upon a suddaine shout

confessio-
lib. 6. c. 8.

“ shout, occasioned in the fight, he let loose his eyes
 “ to see what it meant: *Et percussus est graviori*
 “ *vulnere in anima, quam ille in corpore;* ceciditque
 “ *miserabilius, quam ille, quo cadente factus est*
 “ *clamor.* By mēanes whereof, he became smitten with
 “ a greater wound in his soule, than the poore fellow
 “ in his body; and fell more miserably by farre, than he,
 “ upon whose death the sayd noyse was raised. How
 “ so, *Vt enim vidit illum sanguinem, immanitatem simul*
 “ *ebilit, &c.* For presently assoone, as he beheld the
 “ blood, he sucking in cruelty, and drew in the furies
 “ of the place, being delighted with the wickednesse
 “ the sport, and made drunke as it were with those
 “ bloody spectacles. Such *plaies* and *shewes* as these,
 were not unlawfull to be seene on the *Lords day* onely,
 but on *all dayes else*. And such and none but such, were
 the *plaies* and *shewes*, against the which the *Fathers* doe
 enveigh with so much bitternessse: which as they were
 unworthy of a *Christian* eye, so as religion did prevale,
 they began to vanish; and finally were pur downe, I
 meane these last, by *Theodoricus* King of the *Gothes*, in
Italy. Our *plaies* and theirs, our *shewes* and theirs, yea &
 our *daunings* too compared with theirs, are no more of
 kinne, than *Alexander the Coppersmith* was with *Alex-*
ander the Great King of Macedon. Nay if *Baronius* tells
 us true, as I thinke he doth, these *Playes* and *Cirque-*
fights were not prohibited by the *Emperour Leo*, be-
 cause he thought them not as lawfull to bee performed
 upon the *Lords day*, as on any other; but for a more par-
 ticular reason. He had a purpose to avenge himselfe of
Asper and *Ardaburius*, two great and powerfull men that
 had conspired against his safety; and for the execution of
 that purpose made choyce of such a time, when the *Cir-*
cenian sports were to be exhibited. Which therefore he
 prohibited at this time, to be presented on the *Sunday*,
 because, though his revenge was just, yet the effusion of
 so much *Christian* blood on that *sacred day*; might bee a
 blemish

blemish to religion. *Ne licet justa effetur ultio, tamen diem*
sacrum ignominia videri posset labefactasse. So farre the
Cardinall.

(5) A second thing which this *Emperour* did, in the
 advancing of the *Lords day*, was in relation unto *Civile*,
 and *legall* businesses. It was before appointed by the
Emperour Constantine, that *Judges* should not set that
 day, in the open *Court*, the *Emperours Gratian, Valen-*
tian and *Theodosius* added thereunto, that none should
 arbitrate in any brawling and litigious *caufe* upon the
 same. And whereas, *Valentinian*, *Theodosius*, and *Ar-*
cadius, had privileged other dayes, as well as *Sunday*,
 from the *suites* of *Court*, which dayes are formerly re-
 membred in their proper place: the *Emperour Theodo-*
sius the younger was pleased to adde the *feast* of *Christis*
Nativity, and so to the *Epiphany*, or *twelfth-tide* as wee
 use to call it, together with *feaven* dayes before,
 and *feaven* dayes after; [*Diem natalis domini, &*
epiphanie septem qui praecedunt, & septem qui se-
quentur] making this *festivall* with the *rest* before re-
 membred, in this case equall with the *Sunday*; where by
 the way, we may observe of what antiquity the *feast* of
 the *Epiphany* is to be accounted, as having got unto such
 an height in this *Emperours* time, (he entred on the *Em-*
pire Anno 408) as to be privileged in the *selfe-same*
 manner, as *Christmasse* was. And not in this respect a-
 lone, in respect of *pleadings*, but in a following law of his
 Anno 405 he declared his pleasure, that this day, with the
 other principall *feasts*, as before we noted, was not to be
 prophaned, as it had beeene formerly, by the *Cirques* and
Theatres. For the antiquity thereof more might be sayd,
 were not this sufficient. Onely I adde that in the *Eusterne*
Churches from the times of old, they used to lengthen out
 the *feast* of *Christmasse* for 12 dayes together; not ending
 the solemnities of the same till the *Epiphany* was gone
 over: from whence in likeli-hood, that custome came
 at last, to these *Westerne* parts! *Nativitatem domini*
Epipha-

Epiphania continuantes, duas illas festivitatem unam faciunt. So *Otho Frisnigenis* tells us of them. But to proceede, it seemes that eyther these *Edicts* were not well obserued; or else the *ministers of the Courts* used to meeete together, for dispatch of busynesse on that day, though the *Judges* did not. Therefore it seemed good to this Emperour *Leo*, in the yeare and day above recited, to declare his pleasure thereupon in this forme that followeth.

Dies festos, dies altissima maiestati dedicatos, &c. It is our will that the *holy dayes* being dedicated to the most high God, should not be spent, or wholly taken up in *pleasures*; or otherwise prophaned with vexations *suites*. Particularly for the *Lords day* that it be exempt from executions, citations, entring into bonds, apparances, pleadings, and such like: that cryers be not heard upon it, and such as goe to law lay aside their actions, taking truce a while, to see if they can otherwise compose their differences. For so it passeth in *edict*.

Dominicum itaque ita semper honorabilem decernimus & venerandum, ut a cunctis executionibus excusetur. *Nulla quenquam urgat admonitio, nullus fidei iussionis flagitetur exactio, taceat apparitio, advocatis delitescat, sit idem dies a cognitionibus alienus, praconis horrida vox silent, respirent a controversijs litigantis, & habeant fidelis intervallum, &c.* I have the rather here layd downe the Law it selfe, that wee may see how punctuall the good Emperour was, in silencing those troublesome suites, and all preparatives or appurtenances thereunto: that so men might with quieter mindes, repaire unto the place of Gods publicke service: yet was not the *Edict* so stritt that neyther any kind of *Pleasures* were allowed upon that day, as may be thought by the beginning of the Law; nor any kind of *secular and civill busynesse* to be done upon it. The Emperour *Constantine* allowed of *manumission*, and so did *Theodosius* too. *Die dominico emancipare & manumittere licet; reliqua causa vel lites quicquam, so the latter Emperour: Nor doe wee finde but that this*

Cod. Justin.
1.3. tit. 2. 20.

Cod. 1.2. de.
ser. lex. 2.

Empe-

Emperour *Leo* well allowed thereof. Sure we are that he well allowed of other *civill busynesses*, when he appointed in this very *Edict* that such as went to Law might meeete together on this day to compose their differences, to shew their evidences and compare their writings. And sure I am, that he prohibited not all kind of *pleasures*, but onely such as were of an *obscene and unworthy nature*. For so it followeth in the Law: first in *relation unto busynesses*, *ad se se simul veniant adversarij non timentes, pacta conferant, transactiones loquantur.* Next in *relation unto pleasures*, *Nec tamen hujus religiosa diei ocia relaxantes, obscenis quemquā patimur voluptatibus detineri*, where note not simply *voluptates*, but *obscena voluptates*, not *pleasures* but *obscene and filthy pleasures* are by him prohibited; such as the *Scena theatralis* therein after mentioned: nor *civill busynesse* of all sorts, but *brangling and litigious businesses*, are by him forbidden, as the Law makes evident. And thus must *Theodorus Leotor* be interpreted, who tells us of this Emperour *Leo*, how hee ordained *την κυριανην παρα ταντην αρχιεπισκοπην, απετελετην την ειρηνην*, that the *Lords day* should be kept holy by all sorts of people, that it should be a *non-lee day*, a day of rest and ease unto them; which is no otherwise to be understood, than as the Law it selfe intended; however the words of *Theodorus* seeme to be more generall? Nor was it long before this *Edict* or the matter of it had found good enterteinment in the Christian world: the rather since those Churches which lay further off, and were not under the command of the *Roman Emperour*, taking perhaps their hint from hence, had made a *Canon* to that purpose. For in a Councell held in *Aragon*, Anno 516. being some 47. yeares after *Leos Edict*, it was decreed that neyther *Bishop, Priest, or any other of the Clergy* (the Clergy at that time were possessed of some seates of judicature) should pronounce sentence in any cause, which should that day bee brought before them. *Can. 4.* *Nullus Episcoporum aut presbyterorum vel Clericorum,* *pro-*

propositum cuiuscunq; causa negotium, die dominico audeat ju- dicare. This was in Anno 516. as before I sayd, the second yeare of Amalaricus King of the Gothes in Spaine.

Can. 27.

(6) Nor stayed they here. The people of this sixt age wherein now we are, began to *Iudaize* a little; in the imposing of so strict a rest upon this day: especially in the *Westerne Churches*, which naturally are more inclined to *superstition*, then the *Easterne nations*. Wherein they had so farre proceeded, that it was held at last un- lawfull to *travaile* on the *Lords day* with *waines* or *horses*, to *dresse meat* or make cleane the house or meddle with any manner of *domestick* businesses. The third Councell held at *Orleans*, Anno 540. doth informe us so; and plainly thereupon determined, that since these prohibitions above sayd, *Ad Iudaicam magis quam ad Christianam observantiam pertinere probantur*, did favour farre more of the *Jew* than of the *Christian*; *Die dominico quod ante licuit, licere*, that therefore whatsoever had formerly beeene lawfull on that day, should be lawfull still: Yet so that it was thought convenient, that men should rest that day from *husbandry*, and the *vintage*, from sowing, reaping, hedging, and such servile workes; *quo facilius ad ecclesi- am venientes, orationis gratia videntur*, that so they might have better leisure to goe unto the *Church* and there say their Prayers. This was the first restraint which hitherto we have observed whereby the Husbandman was restrained from the *plough* and *vintage*, or any worke that did concerne him. And this was yeelded, as it seemes, to give them some content at least, which aimed at greater and more slavish prohibitions than those here allowed of; and would not otherwise be satisfied then by grant of this: Nay so farre had this superstition, or superstitious conceit about this day, prevailed amongst the *Gothes* in *Spaine*, a sad and melancholike people, that mingled and married with the *Iewes*, who then therein dwelt: that in their dotage on this day, they went before the *Iewes* their neighbours; the *Sabbath* not so rigorously

rigorously observed by one as was the *Lords day* by the other. The *Romans*, in this age had utterly defeated the *Vandals* and their power in *Africk*: becomming so bad neighbours to the *Gothes* themselves. To stop them in those prosperous courses, *Thende* the *Gothis* King, Anno 543. makes over into *Africk* with a compleat Armie. The Armies neere together, and occasion faire, the *Romans* on a *Sunday* set upon them, and put them all unto the sword: the *Gothes*, as formerly the *Iewes*, never so much as laying hand upon their weapons, or doing any thing at all in their owne defence; onely in reverence to the day. The generall *History of Spaine* so relates the sto- ry, although more at large. A superstition of so suddaine and so quicke a growth, that whereas till this present age, we cannot finde that any manner of *Husbandry* or country labours were forbidden as upon this day, it was now thought unlawfull on the same to take a sword in hand for ones owne defence. Better such *doctrines* had beeene *crushed*, and such *Teachers* silenced in the first begin- nings; then that their *Iewish* *speculations* should in fine produce such sad and miserable effects. Nor was *Spaine* onely thus infected where the *Jewes* now lived: the *French* we see began to be so inclined. Not onely in prohibiting things lawfull, which before we specified; and to the course whereof the Councell held at *Orleans* gave so wise a checke: but by impating such calamities, as had fallen amongst them, to the neglect or ill obser- vance of this day. A flash of lightning or some other fire from heaven, as it was conceived, had on the *Lords day* made great spoyle of men and houses in the City of *Limoges*. This *Gregory of Tours*, who lived about the end of this sixt Centurie, pronounceth to have fallen upon them, *ob diei dominici injuriam*, because some of them used to worke upon the *Sunday*. But how could he tell that; or who made him acquainted with Gods secret counsailes. Had *Gregory* beeene Bishop of *Limoges*, as he was of *Tours*; it may be *Limoges* might have

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scaped so fierce a censure, and onely Tours have suffered in it. For presently he addes, *in Turonico vero nonnulli ab hoc igne, sed non die dominico, adiusti sunt*; that even in Tours it selfe, many had perished by the selfe same fire; but being it fell not on the *Sunday*, as it did at *Limoges*, therefore that misery fell on them for some other reason. Indeed he tells us of this day, that being it was the day whereon God made the light, and after was the witness of our Saviours resurrection: *Ideo omni fide a Christianis observari debet, ne fiat in eo omne opus publicum*; therefore it was to be observed of every Christian, no manner of publicke busynesse to be done upon it. A peece of new Divinity, and never heard of till this age; nor in any afterwards.

(7) Not heard of till this age, but in this it was. For it the 24. yeare of *Gunthram*, King of the *Burgundians*, *Anno 588*, there was a Councell called at *Mascon*, a towne situate in the *Duchie of Burgundie*, as we now distinguish it: wherein were present *Priscus*, *Evantius*, *Pratextatus*, and many other reverend and learned Prelates. They taking into consideration how much the *Lords day* was of late neglected; for remedy thereof ordined, that it should be observed more carefully for the times to come: Which *Canon* I shall therefore set downe at large, because it hath beene often produced as a principall ground of those precise observances, which some amongst us have endeavored to force upon the consciences of weake and ignorant men. It is as followeth; *videtis populum Christianum temeraria more diem dominum cum contemptu tradere, &c.* It is observed that Christian people doe very rashly slight and neglect the *Lords day*; giving themselves thereon as on other dayes, to continuall labours, &c. Therefore let every Christian, in case he carry not that name in vaine, give eare to our instruction; knowing that we have care that you should doe well, as well as power to bridle you, that you doe not ill. It followeth, *Custodite dicam dominicum qui nos*

denuo peperit, &c. Keepc the *Lords day*, the day of our new birth, whereon wee were delivered from the snares of sinne. Let no man meddle in litigious controversies, or deale in actions or law-suites; or put himselfe at all upon such an exigent, that needes hee must prepare his *Oxen* for their daily worke, but exercise your selves in hymnes, and singing prayses unto God, being intent thereon both in minde and body. If any have a Church at hand, let him goe unto it, and there powre forth his soule in teares and prayers; his eyes and hands being all that day lifted up to God. It is the everlasting day of rest, insinuated to us under the shadow of the *Seventh day* or *Sabbath*, in the *Law* and *Prophets*; and therefore it is very meete that wee should celebrate this day with one accord, whereon we have beene made what at first wee were not. Let us then offer unto God our free and voluntary service, by whose great goodnesse wee are free from the *Gaole of errour*: not that the *Lord exacts it of us*, that we should celebrate this day in a corporall abstinence, or rest from labour; who onely lookes that wee doe yeeld obedience to his holy will, by which contemning earthly things, he may conduct us to the heavens of his infinite mercy. However if any man shall set at naught this our exhortation, be he assured, that God shall punish him as he hath deserved; and that he shall be also subject unto the censures of the *Church*. In case he be a *Lamyer* he shall loose his cause; If that he be an *husbandman*, or servant, he shall be corporally punished for it: but if a *Clergy man* or *Monke*, he shall bee six moneths separated from the *Congregation*. Adde here, that two yeares after this, being the second yeare of the second *Clotaire* King of *France*, there was a *Synod* holden at *Auxxerre*, a towne of *Champagne*, (*concilium Antisiodorensis* in the Latin writers) wherein it was decreed as in this of *Mascon*, *Non licet die dominico boves jungere, vel alia opera exercare*; that no man should

should be suffered to yoke his Oxen, or doe any manner of worke upon the *Sunday*. This is the *Canon* so much urged, (I meane that of *Mascon*) to prove that wee must spend the *Lords day* holily in religious exercises; and that there is no part thereof, which is to be employed unto other uses. But there are many things to be considered, before we yeeld unto this *Canon*, or the authority thereof: some of them being of that nature that those who most insist upon it, must be faine to traverse. For first it was contrived of purpose with so great a strictnes, to meete the better with those men, which so extreame-ly had neglected that sacred day. A sticke that bends too much one way cannot bee brought to any straigh-nesse, till it be bent as much the other. This Synod sec-ondly, was *Provinciall* onely, and therefore can oblige none other, but those for whom it was intended; or such who after did submit unto it, by taking it into their *Canon*. Nor will some part thereof be approved by them, who most stand upon it; none being bound hereby to re-paire to *Church*, to magnifie the name of God in the Con-gregation, but such as have some *Church* at hand: and what will then become of those that have a mile, two, three, or more to their *parish Churches*, & no *Chappel* nea-ter? they are permitted by the *Canon* to abide at home. As for *religious duties* here are none expressed, as proper for the Congregation, but *Psalmes* and *hymnes* and sing-ing prayse unto the *Lord*, and powring forth our soules unto him in *teares* and *prayers*: and then what shall wee doe for *preaching*, for *preaching of the Word* which wee so much call for. Besides, King *Gunthram*, on whose au-thority this Counsell met, in his *Confirmatory* letters doth extend this *Canon* as well unto the other *holy dayes*, as unto the *Sunday*; commanding all his Subjects, *Vigore huius decretis & definitionis generalis*, by vertue of his present mandate that on the *Lords day*, *vel in quibuscumque alijs solemnitatibus*, and all *solemne festivall*s whatsoever, they should abstaine from every kind of *bodyly labour*, save what

what belong'd to dressing meate. But that which needs must most affiect them; is that the councell doth profess, this abstinence from *bodyly labour* which is there decreed, to be no ordinance of the *Lords*, that he exacteth no such du-ty from us: and that it is an *ecclesiasticall exhortation* onely and no more but so. And if no more but so, it were too great an undertaking, to bring all nations of the world to yeeld unto the prescript of a private and parti-cular *Canon*, made onely for a private and particular cause: and if no more but so, it concludes no *Sabbath*.

(8) Yet notwithstanding these restraints from worke and labour, the *Church* did never so resolve it, that any worke was in it selfe unlawfull on the *Lords day*, though to advance Gods publicke service, it was thought good, that men should bee restrained from some kinde of worke; that so they might the better attend their prayers, and follow their devotions. Its true, these cen-turies, the fifth and sixth, were fully bent, to give the *Lords day* all fit honour: not onely in prohibiting *un-lawfull pleasures*, but in commanding a forbearance of some *lawfull businesse*; such as they found to yeeld most hinderance to religious duties. Yea and some *workes* of pietie they affixt unto it, for its greater honour. The *Pri-soners* in the common *Gaoles* had formerly beeene kept in too strictly. It was commanded by *Honorius* and *Theodo-sius* at that time *Emperous Anno 412.* that they should be permitted *omnibus diebus dominicis*, every *Lords day* to walke abroade; with a guard upon them: as well to crave the charity of well disposed persons, as to repaire unto the *Bathes* for the refreshing of their bodies. Nor did he onely so command it, but set a mulct of 20 pound in gold, on all such publicke ministers as should disobey: the *Bishops* of the *Church* being trusted to see it done. Where note, that going to the *Bathes* on the *Lords day*, was not thought unlawfull; though it required, no que-stion, corporall labours; for had it beeene so thought, as some thought it afterwards; the *Prelates* of the *Church* would

Epl. decret. 81.

would not have taken it upon them, to see the Emperours will fulfilled, and the law obeyed. A second honour affixt in these Ages to the *Lords day*, is that it was conceived the most proper day for giving holy *Orders*, in the Church of God: and a law made by *Leu* then Pope of *Rome*, and generally since taken up in the *Western* Church that they should bee conferred upon no day else. There had beeene some regard of *Sunday* in the times before: and so much *Leo* doth acknowledge. *Quod ergo a patribus nostris propensiore cura novimus servatum esse, a vobis quoq; volumus custodiri, ut non passim diebus omnibus sacerdotalis ordinatio celebretur.* But that which was before a voluntary *Act*, is by him made necessary: and a law given to all the Churches under his obedience, *Vt his qui consecrandi sunt, nunquam benedictiones nisi in die resurrectionis dominicae tribuantur*, that *ordinations* should bee celebrated on the *Lords day* onely. And certainly he gives good reason why it should be so, except in extraordinarie and emergent cases, where in the law admits of a dispensation. For on that day, saith he, *The holy Ghost descended upon the Apostles*, and thereby gave us as it were this celestiall rule, that on that day alone we should conferre spirituall orders, *in quo solle sunt omnia dona gratiarum*, in which the Lord conferred upon his Church all spirituall graces. Nay that this busines might be done with the more solemnity and preparation; it was appointed that those men who were to be invested with *holy Orders*, should continue fasting from the *Eve* before; that spending all that time in prayer, and humbling of themselves before the Lord; they might be better fitted to receive his *Graces*. For much about these times the *service* of the *Lords day* was enlarged and multiplyed; the *Evenings* of the day being honoured with religious meetings, as the *Mornings* formerly: Yea, and the *Eves* before were reckoned as a part or parcell of the *Lords day* following; *Cui a vespere sabbati initium confat scribi*, as the same *Decretall* informs us.

formes us. The 251 Sermon *de tempore*; ascribed unto Saint *Austine* doth affirme as much; but we are not sure that it is his. Note that this *Leo* entred on the chaire of *Rome* Anno 440 of our Saviours birth, and did continue in the same full 20 yeares; within which space of time he set out this *decretall*, but in what yeaire particularly, that I cannot finde.

(10) I say that now the *Evenings* of the *Lords day* began to have the honour of religious meetings: for *ab initio non fuit sic*, it was not so from the beginning. Nor had it beeene so now, but that almost all sorts of people were restrained from *work*; aswell by the *Imperiall Edicts*, as by the constitutions of particular Churches; by meanes whereof the afternoone was left at large, to bee disposed of for the best increase of *Christian Pietie*. Nor probably had the *Church* conceived it necessary, had not the admiration which was then generally had of the *Monastick* kinde of life, facilitated the way unto it. For whereas they had bound themselves to set houres of *Epitaphium* *Mane hora tertia, sexta, nona, vespere, noctis me-* *Paulus matr.* *dio*, at three of the clocke in the morning, at sixe, at nine, and after in the evening, and at midnight, as *S. Hierome* tells us: the people generally became much affected with their strict devotions; and seemed not unwilling to conforme unto them, as farre at least, as might consist with their vocations: upon this willingnesse of the people, the service of the *Church* became more frequent, then before; and was performed thrice every day in the greater *Churches*, where there were many *Priests* and *Deacons* to attend the same: namely, at sixe, and nine, before noone; and at sometime appointed in the evening, for the afternoone; accordingly as now wee use it in our *Cathedrall* and *Collegiate Churches*. But in inferior townes and petit villages, where possibly the people could not every day attend so often: it was conceived sufficient that they should have the *morning* and the *evening* prayer sung or sayd unto them that such as would

would, might come to Church for their devotions: and so it is by the appointment of the Rubricke in our Common Prayer Booke. Onely the Sundayes and the holy dayes were to be honoured with two severall meetings, in the morning: the one, at sixe of the Cloke, which simply was the morning service; the other, at nine, for the administration of the holy Sacrament, and Preaching of the Word to the congregation. This did occasion the distinction of the first and second Service, as we call them still: though now by reason of the peoples sloth, and backwardnesse in comming to the Church of God, they are in most places joyn'd together. So whereas those of the monastick life, did use to solemnize the Eve or Vigils of the Lords day, and of other festivals; with the peculiar and preparatory service, to the day it selfe: that profitable and pious custome, began about these times, to be taken up, and generally received in the Christian Church. Of this there is much mention to be found in Cassian; as Institut. lib. 2. cap. 18. l. 3. c. 9. Collat. 21. c. 20, and in other places. This gave the hint to Leo, and S. Austin if he made that Sermon, to make the Eve before, a part or parcell of the day; because some part of the Divine offices of the day, were begun upon it. And hence it is, that in these Ages, and in those that followed (but in none before) we meete, with the distinction of matutinas & vespertina precatio[n]es, mattins & Evensong, as we call it: the Canons of the Church about these times, beginning to oblige men to the one, as well as formerly to the other. The Councell held in Arragon, hereupon ordeined, *Ut omnis clerus die Sabbati ad vesp[er]am paratus sit &c.* That all the Clergie be in readinesse on the Saturday vesp[er]s, that so they may be prepared with the more solemnity, to celebrate the Lords day in the congregation. And not so onely, sed ut diebus omnibus vesp[er]as & matutinas celebrent, but that they diligently say the morning and the evening service, every day continually. So for the mattins on the Sunday, Gregoris of Tours informes us

Con. Tarr. cens. Cap. 7.

us of them, *Motum est signum ad matutinas, Erat enim dies dominica; how the bell rung to mattins for it was a Sunday.* I have translated it the bell, according to the custome of these Ages, whereof now we write; wherein the use of bells was first taken up, for gathering of the people to the house of God: there being mention in the life and history of S. Loup or Lupus, (who lived in the fifth Century) of a great bell that hung in the Church of Sens in France, whereof he was Bishop, *ad convocabandum populum* for calling of the congregation. Afterwards they were rung on the holy-day Eves, to give the people notice of the feast at hand and to adverte[n]e them, that it was time to leave off their busynesses. *Solebant vesp[er]i, initia feriarum campanis pr[eu]nnciare;* so he that wrote the life of S. Codegundus.

(11) Well then, the bells are rung, and all the people met together: what is expected at their hands? That they behave themselves there like the Saints of God, in fervent prayers, in frequent Psalms, and Hymnes, and spirituall songs, hearing Gods holy Word, receiving of the Sacraments. These we have touched upon before, as things that had bee[n] always used from the beginnings of the Church. Collections for the poore, had bee[n] sometimes used on this day before: but now about these times, the Offertory beganne to be an ordinary part of Gods publicke worship. Pope Leo seemes to intimate it, in his fifth Sermon de collectis; *Et quia die dominico proxima futura est collectio, vos omnes voluntariae devotioni preparare &c:* and gives them warning of it, that they may be ready. For our behaviour in the Church, it was first ordered by Saint Paul, that all things be done reverently, *de rebus a[n]t[ic]nis, because of the Angels:* according to which ground and warrant it was appointed in these ages, that every man shou'd stand up, at the reading of the Gospell, and the Gloria Patri; that none depart the Church, till the service ended. Pope Anastatius who liued in the beginning of the fift Age, is sayd to have decreed

Baron. Anu.
Anno 614.

creed the one. *Dum S. S. Evangelia in ecclesia recitatur, sacerdotes & ceteri omnes presentes, non sedentes sed venerabiliter curvi, in conspectu sancti evangelij stantes, dominica verba attente audiant, & fideliter adorent.* The Priests, and all else present are enjoyned to stand (their bodies bowed a little in signe of reverence) during the reading of the *Gospell*; but by no meanes to heare it sitting: adding some joyfull acclamation at the end thereof, such as is that of *Glory be to thee O Lord.* So for the *Gloria Patri*, that forme of giving to the Lord the glory which belongs unto him; we finde in *Cassian*, that they used to stand upon their feet at the doing of it: *In clausula psalmi, omnes astantes pronunciant magno clamore, Gloriapatri, &c*, that gesture being thought most natural and most proper for it. No constitution needed to en joyn those duties, which naturall diseretion of it selfe, could dictate. As for the last, it seemed the people in those parts, used to depart the Church, some of them, before the service ended, and the blessing given: for otherwise there had beene no *Canon* to command the contrary. *Ex malis moribus bona nascuntur leges*, the old saying is. And out of this ill custome did arise a law, made in a Synod held in a towne of *Gallia Narbonensis*, the 23 of the reigne of *Alaricus King of the Visi-Gothes, or Westerne-Gothes* Anno 506. that on the *Lords day* all *Lay people* should be present at the publicke liturgie; and none depart before the blessing. *Missas die dominica secularibus audire speciali ordine pricipimus: ita ut egredi ante benedictionem sacerdotis populus non presumat:* So the *Canon* hath it. According unto which it is provided in the *Canons of the Church of England*, that none depart out of the Church during the time of service and Sermon, without some reasonable or urgent cause. The benediction given and the assembly broken up, the people might goe home no doubt; and being there make merry with their friends and neighbours: such as came either to them of their owne accord, or otherwise had beene invited. *Gregorie of Tours*

Tours informes us of a certaine *Presbiter*, that thrust himselfe into the Bishopricke of the *Arverni*, immediately upon the death of *Sidonius Apollinaris*, who dyed about the yeare 487: and that to gaine the peoples favour, on the next *Lords day* after, *Jussit cunctos cives preparato epulo invitari*, he had invited all the principall Citizens to a solemne feast. Whatever might be sayd of him, that made the invitation, no doubt but there were many pious and religious men, that accepted of it. Of recreations after dinner untill evening prayers; and after evening prayer till the time of supper: there is no question to be made but all were practised, which were not prohibited, *Nam quod non prohibetur, permisum est*, as *Tertullian*. Of this more annon.

(12) Thus have we brought the *Lords day* to the highest pitch; the highest pitch that hitherto it had enjoyed, both in relation unto *rest* from worldly busynesse; and to the full performance of *religious duties*. What ever was done afterwards in pursuite hereof, consisted specially in beating downe the *opposition* of the common people, who were not easily induced to lay by their busynesse: next in a descant as it were on the former plaine-song; the adding of particular restrictions, as occasion was which were before conteined, though not plainly specified, both in the *Edicts* of the former *Emperours*, and *Constitutions of the Churches* before remembred. Yet all this while we finde not any one who did observe it as *Sabbath*, or which taught others so to doe: not any, who affirmed that *any manner of worke* was unlawfull on it, further than as it was prohibited by the *Prince*, or *Prelate*; that so the people might assemble with their greater comfort: not any one, who preached or published, that any pastime, sport, or recreation of an honest name, such as were lawfull on the other dayes, were not fit for this. And therupon we may resolve, aswell of *lawfull busynesse* as of *lawfull pleasures*: that such as have not beene forbidden by supreme authority, whether in *proclama- tions*

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tions of the Prince, or *Constitutions* of the Church, or *Acts of Parliament*, or any such like declaration of those higher powers, to which the Lord hath made us subject, are to be counted lawfull still. It matters not, in case we finde it not recorded in particular termes, that wee may lawfully apply our selves to some kinde of *busynesse*, or recreate our selves in every kinde of *honest pleasure*, at those particular houres and times, which are left at large, and have not beeene designed to Gods publicke servicc. All that we are to looke for, is to see how farre we are restrained from *labour*, or from *recreations*, on the *holy dayes*; and what authority it is, that hath so restrained us: that wee may come to know our dutie, and conforme unto it. The *Canons* of particular Churches have no power to doe it, further then they have beeene admitted, into the *Church* wherein we live: for then being made a part of her *Canon* also, they have power to binde us to *obseruance*. As little power there is to be allowed unto the *declarations* and *Edicts* of particular *Princes*, but in their owne dominions onely, Kings are Gods Deputies on the Earth, but in those places onely, where the Lord hath set them; their power no greater than their empire: and though they may command in their owne estates, yet is it *extra summam activitatis*, to prescribe lawes to nations, not subject to them. A King of *France* can make no law, to binde us in *England*. Much lesse must wee ascribe, unto the *dictates* and *directions* of particular *men*, which being themselves subject unto publicke order, are to bee hearkned to no further, then by their life and doctrine they doe preach obedience, unto the publicke ordinances under which they live. For were it otherwise, every private man, of name and credit, would play the *tyrant* with the *liberty* of his *Christian brethren*; and nothing should be lawfull, but what he allowed of: especially if the pretence be faire and specious, such as the keeping of a *Sabbath* to the Lord our God; the holding of

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of an holy convocation to the King of heaven. Example we had of it lately in the *Gothes of Spaine*, and that strange bondage, into which some pragmaticke and popular men had brought the *French*; had not the councell held at *Orleans* gave a checke unto it. And with examples of this kinde, must we begin the story of the following Ages.

CHAP.



CHAP. V.

That in the next six hundred yeares from
Pope Gregory forwards, the Lords day
was not reckoned of, as of a Sabbath.

(1) Pope Gregories care to set the Lords day free from some Iewish rigours, at that time obtruded on the Church. (2) Strange fancies taken up by some about the Lords day, in these darker ages. (3) Scriptures and Miracles in these times found out, to justify the keeping of the Lords day holy. (4) That in the judgement of the most learned in these six ages, the Lords day hath no other ground, then the authority of the Church. (5) With how much difficulty the people of these times were barred from following their Husbandry, and Law-dayes, on the Lords day. (6) Husbandry not restrained on the Lords day in the Easterne parts, untill the time of Leo Philosophus. (7) Markets and Handicrafts restrained with no lesse opposition, then the plough and pleading. (8) Severall casus reservati in the Lawes themselves wherein men were permitted to attend those busineses on the Lords day, which the lawes restrained. (9) Of divers great and publicke actions done in these ages; on the Lords day. (10) Dancing, and other sports no otherwise prohibited on the Lords day, then as they were an hinderance to Gods publicke service. (11) The other holy dayes as much esteemed of, and observed as the Lords day was. (12) The publicke hallowing of the Lords day, and the other holy dayes in these present ages. (13) No Sabbath

bath all these ages heard of, either on Saturday or Sunday; and how it stood with Saturday in the Easterne Churches.

(1)



We are now come to the declining ages of the Church, after the first 600. years were fully ended, and in the entrance on the seaventh, some men had gone about to posseſſe the people of *Rome* with two dangerous fancies; one, that it was not lawfull to doe any manner of worke upon the Saturday, or the old Sabbath, *ita ut die Sabbathi aliquid operari prohiberent*; the other, *ut dominicorum die nullus debeat lavari*, that no man ought to bathe himselfe on the Lords day, or their new Sabbath. With such a race of Christned Iewes, or *Iudaizing Christians* was the Church then troubled. Against these dangerous doctrines did Pope *Gregory* write his letter to the *Roman Citizens*; *stiling* the first no other then the *Preachers of Antichrift*: one of whose properties it shall be, that he will have the Sabbath and the Lords day both so kept, as that *no manner of worke* shall be done on eyther; *qui veniens, diem Sabatum atque dominicum, ab omni faciet opere custodire*, as the Father hath it: Where note, that to compell or teach the people, that they must doe *no manner of worke* on the Lords day, is a marke of *Antichrift*. And why should *Antichrift* keepe both dayes in so strict a manner? Because, saith he, he will perswade the people that he shall die and rise againe; therefore he meanes to have the Lords day in especiall honour; and hee will keepe the Sabbath too, that so he may the better allure the Iewes to adhere unto him. Against the other he thus reasoneth. *Et si quisdem pro luxuria, & voluptate, quis lavari appetit, hoc fieri nec reliquo quotibet die concedimus, &c.* If any man desires to



CHAP. V.

That in the next six hundred yeares from
Pope Gregory forwards, the Lords day
was not reckoned of, as of a Sabbath.

(1) Pope Gregories care to set the Lords day free from some Iewish rigours, at that time obtruded on the Church. (2) Strange fancies taken up by some about the Lords day, in these darker ages. (3) Scriptures and Miracles in these times found out, to justify the keeping of the Lords day holy. (4) That in the judgement of the most learned in these six ages, the Lords day hath no other ground, then the authority of the Church. (5) With how much difficulty the people of these times were barred from following their Husbandry, and Law-dayes, on the Lords day. (6) Husbandry not restrained on the Lords day in the Easterne parts, untill the time of Leo Philosophus. (7) Markets and Handicrafts restrained with no lesse opposition, then the plough and pleading. (8) Severall casus reservati in the Lawes themselves wherein men were permitted to attend those busineses on the Lords day, which the lawes restrained. (9) Of divers great and publicke actions done in these ages; on the Lords day. (10) Dancing, and other sports no otherwise prohibited on the Lords day, then as they were an hindrance to Gods publicke service. (11) The other holy dayes as much esteemed of, and observed as the Lords day was. (12) The publicke hallowing of the Lords day, and the other holy dayes in these present ages. (13) No Sabbath

bath all these ages heard of, either on Saturday or Sunday; and how it stood with Saturday in the Easterne Churches.

(1)



We are now come to the declining ages of the Church, after the first 600. yeares were fully ended, and in the entrance on the seaventh, some men had gone about to posse the people of Rome with two dangerous fancies; one, that it was not lawfull to doe any manner of worke upon the Saturday, or the old Sabbath, ita ut die Sabbathi aliquid operari prohiberent; the other, ut dominicorum die nullus debeat lavari, that no man ought to bathe himselfe on the Lords day, or their new Sabbath. With such a race of Christned Iewes, or Judaizing Christians was the Church then troubled. Against these dangerous doctrines did Pope Gregory write his letter to the Roman Citizens; stiling the first no other then the Preachers of Antichrist: one of whose properties it shall be, that he will have the Sabbath and the Lords day both so kept, as that no manner of worke shall be done on eyther; qui veniens, diem Sabatum atque dominicum, ab omni faciet opere custodire, as the Father hath it: Where note, that to compell or teach the people, that they must doe no manner of worke on the Lords day, is a marke of Antichrist. And why should Antichrist keepe both dayes in so strict a manner? Because, saith he, he will perswade the people that he shall die and rise againe; therefore he meanes to have the Lords day in especiall honour; and hee will keepe the Sabbath too, that so he may the better allure the Iewes to adhere unto him. Against the other he thus reasoneth. Et si quidem pro luxuria, & voluptate, quis lavari appetit, hoc fieri nec reliquo quolibet die concedimus, &c. If any man desires to

Ep. 3. l. 11.

to bathe himselfe, only out of a luxurios and voluptuous purpose (observe this well) this we conceive, not to be lawfull upon any day : but if he doe it onely, for the necessary refreshing of his body ; then neither is it fit it should be forbidden upon the *Sunday*. For if it be a sinne to bathe, or wash all the body on the *Lords day* ; then must it be a sinne, to wash the face upon that day : if it be lawfull to be done in any part, why then, necessity requiring, is it unlawfull for the whole. It seemes then by Saint *Gregories* doctrine, that in hot weather, one may lawfully goe into the water, on the *Lords day*, and there wade or swimme, eithir to wash or coole his body, as well as upon any other. Note also here, that not the *quality* of the day, but the *condition* of the *thing* is to be considered, in the denominating of a *lawfull* or *unlawfull* *act* : that things *unlawfull* in *themselves*, or tending to *unlawfull* *ends* are unfit for *all dayes* ; and that what ever thing is fit for *any day*, is, of it selfe, as fit for *Sunday*. Finally he concludes with this, *Dominicorum vero die a labore terreno cessandum est, &c.* We ought to rest indeede on the *Lords day* from earthly labours, and by all meanes abide in prayers ; that if by humane negligence, any thing hath escaped in the sixe former dayes, it may be expiated by our prayers on the day of the *resurrection*. This was the salve, by him applied to those dangerous sores, and such effect it wrought upon them, that for the present, and long after we finde not any that prohibited working on the *Saturday*. But at the last, it seemes some did; who thereupon were censured and condemned by another *Gregory* of that name the *seventh*, *Damnavit docentes, non licere die Sabati operas facere* ; as the *Law* informes us. *De consecratione distinct. 3. cap. Pervenit.* But this was not till *Anno 1074.* or after, almost 500. yeares after the times where now we are. As for the other fancies, that of not going to the *Barbes* on the *Lords day*, it seemes he crushed that too, as for that particular : though otherwise, the like concets did breake out againe, as men beganne

ganne to entertaine *strange thoughts*, and *superstitious doctrines*, about this day ; especially in these *declining Ages* of the *Church*, wherein so many errors both in *faith* and *manners*, did in fine defile it, that it was *blacke* indeed, but with little comlinesse. The *Church*, as in too many things, not proper to this place and *purpose*, it did incroach upon the *Iew* ; much of the *ceremonies*, and *Priestly habit*, in these times established being thence derived : so is it not to be admired, if in some things, particular both *men* and *Synods* beganne to *Indaize*, a little, in our present busynesse ; making the *Lords day* no lesse rigidly to be observed, than the *Iewish Sabbath*, if it were not more.

(2) For in the following Age, and in the latter end thereof, when learning was now almost come to its lowest ebbe : there was a *Synod* held at *Frinli*, by the command of *Pepin* then King of *France* ; a towne now in the territorie of the State of *Venice*. The principall motive of that meeting, was to confirme the doctrine of the *holy Trinity*, and the *incarnation of the word* ; which in those times had bin disputed. The *President* thercof, *Panninus*, *Patriarke of Aquilegia* : *Anno 791.* of our *Redemption*. There, in relation to this day, it was thus decreed. *Diem dominicum inchoante noctis initio, i.e. vespere Sabbathi, quando signum insonuerit, &c.* Wee constitute and appoint that all *Christian men* (that is to say all *Christian men* who lived within the *Canons* reach) should with all reverence and devotion honour the *Lords day*, beginning on the *evening* of the day before, at the first *ringing* of the *bell* : and that they doe abstaine therein, especially from all kinde of sinne, as also from all carnall acts, *Etiam a proprijs conjugibus*, even from the company of their *wives*, and all earthly labours : and that they goe unto the *Church* devoutly, laying aside all suites of *Law*, that so they may in *love* and *charitie* praise *Gods name* together. You may remember that some such device as this, was fathered formerly on *Saint Austin* ; but with little reason. Such trimme concets,

ceits, as these, had not then beeene thought of. And though it be affirmed in the preamble to these constitutions, *nec novas regulas instituimus, nec supervacuas rerum adiventiones inhianter sectamur*; that they did neither make new rules, or follow vaine and needlesse fancies; *Sed sacris paternorum Canonum recensis folijs, &c.* but that they tooke example by the antient Canons: yet looke who will, into all Canons of the Church for the times before, and he shall find no such example. For my part, I should rather thinke, that it was put into the Canon, in succeeding times, by some misadventure: that some, observing a restraint, *ab omni opere carnali*, of all carnall acts, might, as by way of question, write in the Margin, *etiam a proprijs conjugibus*; from whence, by ignorance, or negligence of the Collectours, it might be put into the text. Yet if it were so passed at first, and if it chance that any be so minded, (and some such there be) as to conceive the Canon to be pure and pious; and the intent thereof not to be neglected: they are to be advertised, that the *holy dayes* must be observed in the selfe same manner. It was determined so, before, by the false Saint *Austine*. And somewhat to this purpose saith this *Synod* now, that all the *greater festivalls* must with all reverence be observed and honoured: and that such *holy dayes* as by the priests were *bidden* in the Congregation, *Omni- bus modis sunt custodienda*, were by all wayes and meanes to be kept amongst them; that is, by all those wayes and meanes, which in the said *Conon* were before remembred. In this the *Christian* plainly outwent the *Iew*; amongst whose many *superstitions*, there is none such found. true indeede, the *Iewes* accounted it unlawfull to marrie on the *Sabbath day*, or on the *evening of the Sabbath*, or on the *first day of the weeke*: lest (say the *Rabbins*) they should pollute the *Sabbath* by *dressing meat*. Conforma- bly whereunto, it was decreed in a *Synod* held in *Aken*, or *Aquis granum*, *Anno 833.* *nec nuptias pro reverentia tantæ solennitatis celebrari vixim est*, that in a reverence to

Ap. 4 in 1. in
Ex. 20. 10.

Cap. 17.

the *Lords day*, it should no more be lawfull to marrie, or be married upon the same. The *Jewes*, as formerly wee shewed, have now by order from their *Rabbins*, restrai- ned themselves on their *Sabbath day*, from knocking with their hands, upon a table, to still a child; from making figures in the aire, or drawing letters in the ground, or in dust and ashes, and such like niceties. And some such teachers: *Olaus King of Normay*, had, no que- stion met with, *Anno 1028.* For being taken up one *Sun- day*, in some serious thoughts, and having in his hands a small walking sticke, he tooke his knife and whitled it, as men doe sometimes, when as their mindes are trou- bled, or intent on businesse. And when it had beeene told him, as by way of jest, how he had trespassed therein a- gainst the *Sabbath*, he gathered the small chippes toge- ther, put them upon his hand, and set fire unto them: *Vt- vix. in se ulcisceretur, quod contra divinum praeceptum in- Metropoli. 4. c. 8.* *cautus admisisset*; that so, saith *Crantzus*, hee might re- venge that on himselfe, which unawares hee had com- mitted against Gods Commandement. *Crantzus*, it seemes, did well enough approve the follie: for in the entrance on this story, he reckoneth this *inter alia virtutum suarum præconia*, amongst the monuments of his pie- tie, and sets it up as an especiall instance of that Princes sanctitie. Lastly, whereas the *moderne Iewes* are of opini- on, that all the while their *Sabbath* lasts the *soules* in *hell* have liberty to range abroad, and are *released* of all their torments: so, lest in any superstitious fancie, they should have preheminence, it was delivered of the *soules*, in Pur- gatory, by *Petrus Damiani*, who lived in *Anno 1056.* *Do- minico die refrigerum pœnarum habuisse*, that every *Lords* day they were manumitted from their paines, and flut- tered up and downe the lake *Avernus*, in the shape of birds.

(3) Indeede the mervaile is the lesse, that these and such like *Iewish* fancies should in those times beginne to shew themselves in the *Christian* Church: considering that

that now some had begun to thinke that the *Lords day*, was founded on the *fourth Commandement*; and all obser- vances of the same, grounded upon the *Law of God*. As long as it was taken onely for an *Ecclesiastical institution*, and had no other ground upon which to stand, then the authority of the *Church*; we finde not any of these rigours annexed unto it. But being once conceived to have its warrant from the *Scripture*, the *Scripture* presently was ransacked, and whosoever did concerne the old *Jewish Sabbath* was applyed thereto. It had bin ordered formerly that men should be restrained on the *Lords day*, from some kind of labours, that so they might assemble in the greater numbers; the *Princes* and the *Prelates* both con- ceiving it convenient that it shoulde be so. But in these Ages there were *Texts* produced, to make it necessary. Thus *Clotaire King of France*, grounded his *Edict* of re- straint from servile labours on this day, from the *holy Scripture*: *quia hox lex prohibet, & sacra Scriptura in omnibus contradicit*, because the *Law* forbids it, and the *holy Scripture* contradicts it. And *Charles the Great* builds also on the selfe same ground, *Statuimus secundum quod in lege dominus precepit, &c.* Wee doe ordaine according as the *Lord* commands us, that on the *Lords day* none presume to doe any servile busynesse. Thus finally the *Emperour Leo Philosophus* in a *constitution* to that pur- pose, of which more hereafter, declares that he did so de- termine, *secundum quod Sp. Sancto ab ipsoque institutis Apostolis placuit*, according to the dictate of the *holy Ghost*, and the *Apostles* by him tutored. So also when the *Fa- thers* of the *Church* had thought it requisite, that men should cease from labour on the *Saturday* in the after- noone; that they might be the better fitted for their de- votions the next day; some would not rest till they had found a *Scripture* for it. *Observemus diem dominicum fratre, sicut antiquis preceptum est de Sabbatho, &c.* Let us ob- serve the *Lords day*, as it is commanded, from even to even shall yee celebrate your *Sabbath*. The 251. Sermon inscri- bed

bed de tempore, hath resolved it so. And lastly, that wee goe no further, the superstitious act of the good King *Olaus*, burning his hand as formerly was related, was then conceived to be a very just reveng upon himselfe, be- cause he had offended, although unawares, *contra divinum preceptum*, against Gods *Commandement*. Nor were these rigorous fancies left to the naked world, but they had *miracles* to confirme them. It is reported by *Vincen- tius* and *Antoninus*, that *Anstregisilus*, one that had pro- bably preached such doctrine, restored a *Miller* by his power, whose hand had cleaved unto his Hatchet, as he was mending of his Mill on the *Lords day*: for now you must take notice that in the times in which they lived, grinding had beene prohibited on the *Lords day*, by the *Canon Lawes*. As also how *Sulpitius* had caused a poore mans hand to wither, onely for *clearing wood* on the *Lords day* (no great crime assuredly, save that some pa- rallell must be found for him, that gathered stickes on the former *Sabbath*:) and after of his speciall goodness, made him whole againe. Of these the first was made *Arch- Bishop of Burges, Anno. 627*. *Sulpitius* being successour unto him in his *See*, and as it seemes too, in his power of working *miracles*. Such *miracles* as these they who list to credit, shall finde another of them in *Gregorius Turonensis, Miracul. 1.c.6.* And some wee shall hereafter meete with when we come to *England*, forged purpose- ly, as no doubt these were to countenance some new de- vice about the keeping of this day; there being no *new Gospel* preached, but must have *miracles* to attend it, for the greater state.

(4) But howsoever it come to passe, that those fourre *Princes*, especially *Leo*, who was himselfe a *Scholler*, and *Charles the Great*, who had as learned men about him, as the times then bred, were thus perswaded of this day; that all restraints from worke and labour on the same, were to be found expresly in the word of God: yet was the *Church* and the most learned men therein, of another

CHAP. 5. The History of PART. 2.
 another minde. Nor is it utterly impossible, but that those Princes might make use of some pretence or ground of Scripture, the better to incline the people to yeld obedience unto those restraints which were layd upon them. First for the Church, and men of speciall eminence in the same, for place and learning, there is no question to bee made, but they were otherwise perswaded. *Isidore* Arch-Bishop of *Sevill*, who goes highest, makes it an *Apostolical sanction* onely, no divine commandement; a day designed by the *Apostles* for religious exercises, in honour of our Saviours resurrection on that day performed. *Diem dominicum Apostoli ideo religiosa solennitate sanxerunt, quia in eo redemptor noster a mortuis resurrexit.* And addes, that it was therefore called the *Lords day*, to this end and purpose, that resting in the same from all earthly acts, and the *temptations* of the world, we might intend Gods *holy worship*; giving this day due honour for the hope of the resurrection, which we have therein. The same verbatim is repeated by *Beda*, *lib. de Offic.* and by *Rabanus Maurus lib. de institut. Cleric. l. 2 c. 24.* and finally by *Alcuinus de divin. Offic. cap. 24.* which plainly shewes that all those took it onely for an *Apostolical usage*, an observation that grew up by *custome*, rather then upon *commandement*. Sure I am that *Alcuinus*, one of principall credit with *Charles the Great*, who lived about the end of the eighth Centurie, as did this *Isidore*, in the beginning of the seventh, faith clearly that the observation of the former *Sabbath* had beeene translated very fitly to the *Lords day*, by the *custome* and *consent* of *Christian people*. For speaking how the *Sabbath* was accounted holy in the former times, and that the *Jewes* resting thereon from all manner of *worke*, did onely give themselves to *meditation* and *feasting*; he addes, *cujus observationem mos Christianus ad diem dominicum competentius translatit.* Where plainly *mos Christianus* doth imply no *precept*, no *order* or *command* from the *Apostles* that it should be so, and much lesse any *precept* in the *Old Testament* which

which should still oblige. And sure I am *Rabanus Maurus* speakes onely as by way of exhortation, as not armed with any warrant from the *Apostles*, or other argument from Scripture: Where hee adviseth us, *a vespera dici Sabatti usque ad vesperam dici dominici, sequestrati a rurali opere & omni negotio, solo divino cultui vacemus:* Where no man will presume to say, that either rest from *husbandry* and such other businesse, or the beginning of the *Lords day* on the *Eve* before, were introduced by any *precept* of the *Apostles*: considering how long it was, before either of them had bin used in the *Christian Church*. And so *Hesychius* Bishop of *Hierusalem*, who flourished at the selfe same time with *Isidore*, speaks of it onely as a *custome*, or a matter of fact, descending by *tradition* from the *Apostles*. *Apostolorum sequentes traditionem, diem dominicum conventibus divinis sequestramus*; which was the most that he could say, for the originall thereof, indeede who could more. And as for *Isidore* himselfe whom the others followed, its cleare that they esteemed the *Lords day* for no other, then a *common holiday*; by farre inferiour unto *Easter*. *Pascha festivitatum omnium prima est.* Then followeth *Pentecost*, *Epiphanie*, *Palme-sunday*, *Maundie-thursday*, and in the last place, *Dies dominicus*, the *Lords day*. Which questionlesse he had not placed in so low a roome, had he conceived it instituted by any *precept*, or *injunction* of those blessed Spirits. So in a *Councell* held at *Paris*, *Anno 829.* it was determined positively, that keeping of the *Lords day* had no other ground then *custome* onely: and that this *custome* did descend *ex Apostolorum traditione, immo ecclesie autoritate*, at most from *Apostolical tradition*, but indeede rather from the *authority* of *holy Church*. And whereas *Courts of Law*, or *Law dayes* had formerly beeene prohibited on this day, that so men might in peace and concord goe to *Church* together: the severall *Councells* that of *Friburg*, *Anno 895.* and that of *Erpford*, *Anno 932.* though then the times were at the darkest; ascribe it

it not to any *Law* or *Text* of *Scripture*, but onely to the antient *Canons*. *Secundum sanctorum statuta patrum*, saith the first, *Can. 26*. *Secundum Canonicam institutionem* saith the second, *Cap. 2*. And howsoever some have sayd that *Alexander Pope of Rome*, of that name the third, referres the keeping of the *Lords day* to *divine commandement*: yet they that looke upon him well, can find no such matter. He saith indeed that both the *Old* and *New Testament* depute the seventh day unto rest, but for the keeping of it holy, both that and other dayes appointed for Gods publicke service, *ecclesia decreverit observanda*; that he ascribes alone to the *Churches order*. *Decret. 1. 2. tit. 9. de feriis. cap. 3.* The like may be affirmed also of restraint from *labour*, that it is grounded onely on the authority of the *Church*, and *Christian Princes*; how ever in some *Regall* and *Imperiall* *Edicts* there be some shew or colour added from the *Law* of God.

(5) I say some shew or colour added from the *Law* of God. For as before I sayd, it is not utterly impossible, but that those Princes might make use of some pretence or shew of *Scripture*, the better to incline the people, to yeld obedience unto those restraints which were layd upon them. The *Synod* held at *Mascon*, and that in *Auxerre*, both before remembred, exprely had prohibited all workes of *husbandry* on this day: the former having added for inforcing of it, not onely *Ecclesiasticall censures*, but *corporall* and *civill punishments*. But yet this was not found enough to weane the people from their *workes*, their ordinary labours used before, upon that day, and it is no marvaile. The *Iewes* were hardly brought unto it, though they had heard God thundring from the holy mountaine, that they should *doe no manner* of *worke* upon their *Sabbath*: It being added thereunto, that whosoever should offend therein, he should *dye the death*. And certainly it was very long, before either Prince or Prelate, or both joyned together, with all their power and policie could prevale upon them; either to lay aside their *bosses*,

bosses, or forbear their *Law dayes*; as may appear by many severall *Edicts* of *Emperours*, *decrees* of *Popes*, and *Canons* of particular *Councils*; which have successively beene made in restraint thereof. The *Synod* of *Chalons*, *Anno 662*, wherein were 44. *Bishops*, and amongst them *S. Owen Arch-Bishop of Roane*, concluded as had beene before, [*non nova condentes sed vetera renovantes*] that on the *Lords day* no man should presume to sow or plough, or reap, *vel quicquid ad ruris culturam pertinet*, or deale in any thing that belonged to *husbandry*: and this on paine of *Ecclesiasticall censure* and *correction*. But when this did no good, *Clothaire* the third of *France*, (for he I thinke it was who set out that *Law*) beginning with the word of God, and ending with a threate of severe chastisement, doth command the same. *Die dominico nemo servilia opera presumat facere, quia hoc lex prohibet, & sacra Scriptura in omnibus contradicit*, as before

Leg. Almanz. tit. 39. ap. Brisson.

was sayd. If any doe offend herein, in case he bee a *bondman*, let him bee soundly *bastinadoed*; in case a *freeman*, let him be thrice admonished of it, if he offend againe the third part of his patrimony was to be confiscated; and finally if that prevailed not, he was to be converted before the *Gouvernour*, and made a *bondslave*. So for the *Realme of Germany*, a *Council* held at *Dingulofinum* in the lower *Bavaria*, *Anno. 772*, did determine thus. *Festo die Solis, ocio divino intentus, prophanis negotijs abstineto*, upon the *Sunday* (so they call it) let every man abstaine from prophane employments, and be intent upon Gods worship; If any man shall worke his *Cart* this day, or busie himselfe in any such like worke, *jumenta ejus publica sunt*, his *Teeme* shall presently bee forfeited to the publicke use: And if stubbornly they persist to provoke Gods anger, be they sold for *Bond-men*. So *Aventine* reports the *Canon*. And somewhat like to this was ordered by *Theodorus* king of the *Bavarians*, viz. *Si quis die dominico, &c.* If any man upon the *Lords day* shall yoake his *Oxen*,

Hib. 1. 3.

ap. Brisson. et supra.

“ and

" and drive forth his waine, *dextrum bovem perdat*, his right hand Oxe shall be forthwith forfeit; if he make hay or carry it in; if he mowe corne or carry it in, let him be once or twice admonished; & if he amend not thereupon, let him receive no less than 50. stripes; yet notwithstanding all this care, when *Charles the Great* being King of *France*, had mastered *Germany*, w^{ch} was 789. or thereabouts; there had bin little reformation in this point amongst them. Therefore that Prince first published his owne *Regall edict*, grounding himselfe *secundū quod in lege praecepit dominus*, upon the prescript of Gods Law, & there commands that all men doe abstaine from the workes of husbandry. Which Edict since it speakes of more particulars, at that time prohibited, we will speake more thereof anon. That not prevailing as it seemes, he caused five severall Synods to be assembled at one time, *Anno 813.* at *Mentz* at *Rhemes*, at *Tours*, at *Chalonis*, and *Arles*: in all of which it was concluded against the Husbandman; and many others more, as we shall see in the next Section. And yet we finde some grudging still of the old disease; as is apparent by a Synod held at *Rome*, *Anno. 826.* under *Eugenius the second* *Chap. 30.* another in the same place, *Anno. 853.* under *Leo the fourth*, *Can. 30.* the like in that of *Compeigne* held by *Alexander the third* what time he lived an exile in the Realme of *France*. So for restraint of Law dayes, or Courts of judgement those chiefly that determined of mens lives; it was not brought about, in these *Westernne* parts without great difficulty. Witnes, besides the severall *Imperiall edict*s before remembred, *Conc. Mogunt. Anno. 813. Can. 37. Rhemens. Can. 35. Turonens. Can. 40. Arelatens. Can. 16.* being foure of those Councells which were called by *Charles*, as before was sayd: as also that of *Aken*, *Anno. 836. Ca. 20.* And though it was determined in the *Romane* Synod under *Leo the fourth*, that no suspected person should receive judgement on that day; a clause being added in the *Canon*, *legibus infirmari iudicium eo die deponitum*, that all Acts sped upon that day, were

were voyde in law: yet more then 300 yeares after it was so refolved of, was *Alexander the third* in councell of *Compeigne* before remembred, enforced particularly to revive it, and then and there to let it downe, *Ne aliquis ad mortem vel ad paenam judicetur*, that no man should upon that day be doomed to death, or otherwise condemned unto bodily punishment. So difficult a thing it was to weane the people from their labours, and other civile businesse unto which they had beene accustomed; there being nothing to inforce or induce them to it, but humane authority.

• (6) On the same reason as it seemes, *Leo Philosophus Emp. of Constantinople* did make use of Scripture: when in conformity with the *Westernne Churches*, hee purposed to restraine the workes of *husbandry*, on that day, which till his time had beene permitted. The Emperour *Constantine* hadordeined, as before was shewne that all *Artificers*, and such as dwelt in *Citties*, shoulde on the *Sunday* leave their trades: but by the same Edict gave licence to the *husbandman* to pursue his businesse, atwell upon that day, as on any other. But contrary this *Leo*, surnamed *Philosophus* (he began his reigne *Anno 886*, grounding himselfe, for so he tells us, on the authority of the *holy Ghost*, and of the *Apostles*; (but where hee found that warrant from the *holy Ghost*, and from the *holy Apostles*, that he tells us not) restrained the *husbandman* from his worke, as well as men of other callings. *Nicephorus* mistakes the man, and attributes it to the former *Leo*, whom before we spake of in our fourth Chapter. *Quo tempore primus etiam Leo constitutione lata, ut dies dominicus ab omnibus absque labore omni, per omnia transfigeretur, festusque & venerabilis esset, quemadmodum & divis Apostolis visum est, praecepit.* Where the last clause with the substance of the Edict, make the matter plaine, that he mistooke the man though he hit the businesse: the former *Leo* using no such motiue in all his Edict. But take it from the Emperour himselfe, who having told us *confit. 5. 4.* first

“first that the *Lords day* was to be honoured with rest from labour, adds next, that he had seene a law, (hee meanes that of *Constantine*) *qua non omnes simul operari prohibendos nonnullosque nisi operentur indulgendum* cen. “suit, which having not restrained all workes but permitted some, did upon no sufficient reason, dishonour that so sacred day. Then followeth. *Statuimus nos etiam, quod Sp. Sancto ab ipsoque institutis Apostolis placuit, ut omnes in die sacro, &c. a labore vident. Neque Agricola, &c.* It is our will, saith he, according to the true meaning of the holy Ghost, and of the Apostles by him directed, that on that sacred day, whereon we were restored unto our integrity, all men should rest themselves and surcease from labour: neither the husbandmen nor others, putting their hand that day to prohibited worke. For if the *Iewes* did so much reverence their *Sabbath* which onely was a shadow of ours; are not wee which inhabit light and the truth of grace, obliged to honour that day which the Lord hath honoured, and hath therein delivered us, both from dishonour and from death? Are not wee bound to keepe it singularly and inviolably, sufficiently contented with a liberall grant of all the rest; and not encroaching on that one, which God hath chosen for his service? Nay were it not a retchlesse slighting and contempt of all religion, to make that day common: and thinke that we may doe thereon, as we doe on others. So farre this Emperour determines of it first, and disputes it afterwards, I onely note it for the close, that it was neere 900 yeares from our Saviours birth, if not quite so much, before restraint of husbandry on this day, had beene first thought of in the *East*: and probably being thus restrained, did finde no more obedience there, then it had done before in the *Westernne* parts.

(7) As great a difficulty did it prove to restraine other things in these times projected, although they carried it

at

at the last, The Emperour *Constantine* had before commanded, that all *Artificers* in the Citties should surcease from labour, on the *Lords day*; aswell as those whom he employed in his *seates of justice*: and questionlesse hee found obedience answearable to his expectation. But when the *Westernne* parts became a prey to new Kings and Nations; and that those Kings and nations had admitted the *lames* of *Christ*: yet did they not conceive it necessary, to submit themselves to the *lames* of *Constantine*, and therefore followed their imployments, as before they did. And so it stood untill the time of *Charles the Great* who in the yeare 789, published his regall Edict, in this forme that followeth. *Statuimus, secundum quod & in lege dominus praecepit, &c.* We doe ordeine, according as it is commanded in the law of God, that no man doe any servile worke on the *Lords day*. This in the generall had beeene before commanded by his father *Pepin*, in the councell holden in *Friuli* but he now explices himselfe in these particulars. That is to say, that neither men employ themselves in workes of husbandry, in dressing of their Vines, ploughing their lands, making their hay, fencing their grounds, grubbing or felling trees, working in mines, building of houses, planting their gardens, nor that they pleade that day, or goe forth on hunting: and that it be not lawfull for the women, to weave, or dresse cloath, to make garments, or needle worke, to card their wooll, beate hempe, wash cloathes in publicke, or sheere sheepe: but that they come unto the Church, to divine service, and magnifie the Lord their God, for those good things which on that day he hath done for them. After considering with himselfe that faires and markets on this day, were an especiall means to keepe men from Church; he set out his Imperiall Edict, *de nundinis non concedendis*, as my author tells me. Nor did he trust so farre, to his owne Edict, as not to strengthen it, (as the times then were) by the authority of the Church

*In Legibz Aquigra
nenſ.*

Can. 50.

Concil. Part.
Sessi. I. c. 50

Church, and therefore caused those five Councells before remembred, to be assembled at one time: in foure of which it was determined agaist all servile worke, and *Law dayes*, as alfo *ut mercatus in iis minime sit*, Concil. *Mogunt. Can. 37. ne mercata exerceant, Rhemens. can. 35.* and so in those of *Tours*, *40.* and *Arles* *16.* That of *Chalons* which was the fifth, did onely intimate, that whereas the *Lords day* had beene much neglected, the better keeping of the same was to be established *authentica constitutione*, by some *Authenticall constitution* of the Emperour himselfe. But whatsoeuer care this Emperour tooke, to see his will performed, and the *Lords day* sanctified; it seemes his successeour *Ludovicus* was remisse enough: which being found, as found it was, the people fell againe to their former *labours*; *ploughing and marketting and Lawdayes*, as before they did. The Councell held at *Paris Anno 829*, which was but sixteene yeares after the holding of the aforesayd Synods, much complaines thereof: and withall addes, that many of the Prelates assembled there, knew both by fame and by their owne proper knowledge, *quodam in hoc die ruralia opera excententes, fulmine interemptos*, that certaine men following their husbandry on that day, had beene killed with lightning; and others with a strange convulsion of their joynts, had miserably perished: whereby say they, it is apparent, that God was very much offended, with their so great neglect of that *holy day*. Rather with their so great neglect of their superiors in that, nor declaration of their *King*, nor constitution of the *Church*, could worke so farre upon them, as to gaine obedience; in things conduced to Gods service. Had working on that day, beene so much offensive in the sight of God, likely it is, wee might have heard of some such judgements, in the times before: but being not prohibited, it was not unlawfull. Now being made unlawfull, because prohibited, God smote them for their frequent workings, at times which were designed to

to another use; not in relation to the day, but their disobedience. Therefore the councell did advise that first of all the *Priests and Prelates*, then that *Kings, Princes, and al i. f. y. full people*, would doe their best endeavour for the restoring of that day to its auncient lustre; which had so fowly beene neglected. Next they adressed themselves particularly to *Ludovicke and Lotharius* then the *Roman Emperours*, *ut cunctis metum incutiant*, that by some sharpe injunction, they would strike a terror into all their subjects, that for the times to come none should presume to plough, or hold *Law-dayes*, or *Market*, as of late was used. This probably occasioned the sayd two Emperours *853.* to call a *Synod at Rome*, under *Leo the fourth*: where it was ordered more precisely, than in former times, *ut die dominico nullus andeat mercationes, nec incibariis rebus, aut qmilibet opera rustica facere*, that no man should from thenceforth dare to make any *Markets* on the *Lords day*, no not for things that were to eat; neither to doe any kinde of worke that belonged to *husbandry*. Which *Canon* being made at *Rome*, confirmed at *Compeigne*, and afterwards incorporated, as it was, into the body of the *Canon Law* (whereof see *Decretal. I. 2. tit. 9. de feriis cap. 2.*) became to be admitted, without further question, in most parts of *Christendome*: especially when the *Popes* had attained their height, and brought all *Christian Princes* to be at their devotion. For then the people, who before had most opposed it, might have justly sayd. *Behold two Kings stood not before him, how then shall we stand?* Out of which consternation all men presently obeyed, *tradesmen* of all sorts being brought to lay by their *labours*: and amongst those, the miller, though his worke was easiest, and least of all required his presence. *Nec aliquis a vespera diei Sabbati, usque ad vesperam diei dominicae, ad molendina aquarum vel ad aliqua alia molere andeat.* So was it ordered in the Councell of *Angiers*, (of which see *Bochellus*) Anno *1282*: wherein the *Barber* also was forbidden to use his trade.

Syn. Rom.
Can. 50.

King. 50.

(8) Yet

(8) Yet were not those restraints so strict, as that there was no liberty to be allowed of, either for busynesse or pleasure! A time there was for both, and that time made use of: there being in the *Imperiall Edicts*, and *Constitutions of the Church*, yea and the *decretales* of the Popes many reservations, whereby the people might have liberty to enjoy themselves: They had beeene else in worse condition, then the *Iemmes* before. In the Edict of *Charles the Great* before remembred, though otherwise precise enough, there were three severall kindes of carriages, allowed and licence on the *Lords day*: i. e. *Hortalia carra, vel victualia, vel si forte necesse erit corpus cuiuslibet ducere ad sepulchrum*; that is to say, carriage of gardening ware, and Carts of victuals, and such as are to carry a dead corps to buriall. So *Theodulphus Aureliensis* who lived about the yeare 836, having firt put it downe for a positive rule, that the *Lords day* ought with such care to bee obserued, *ut preter orationes & missarum solennia, & ea que ad vescendum pertinent, nil aliud fieri*; that besides prayer, and hearing masse, and such things as belong to food, there is directly nothing that may be done: admits of an exception, or a reservation. *Nam si necessitas fuerit navigandi vel itinerandi, licentia datur.* For if (saith he) there be a necessary occasion, either of setting sayle, or going a journey; this may be allowed of; in case they pretermit not *Masse* and *Prayers*. This I finde extant as a *Canon* of the 6 *Generall councell* holden in *Constantinople*: but since both this and all the rest of the same stampe, (there are nine in all) are thought not to belong of right unto it, I have chose rather to referr it to this *Theodulphus*, though a private man, amongst whose workes I finde it in the great *Bibliotheca Patrum. Tom. 9.* Thus in a *Synod* held at *Coy*, within the realme and diocesse of *Onido*; Anno 1050, it was decreed, that all men should repaire to *Church* on the *Lords day*, and there heare *Matins, Masse*, and other the *canonicall hours*; as also, *Opus servile non exercerant*,

Epl. ap. Bibl.
Patr.

74. 6.

nec settentur itinera, that they should doe no servile worke, nor take any journey. Yet with exceptions fourte or five namely unlesse it were for *devotions sake*, or to *bury the dead*, or to *visit the sicke*; or finally *pro secreto regis, vel Saracenorum impetu, on speciall busynesse* of the Kings, or to *make head against the Saracens*. The King was much beholding to them that they would take such care of his *state affaires*: more then some Princes might be now in case their busynesse were at the disposing of particular men. So had it beeene decreed by severall Emperours, yea and by severall *Councells* too: which for the *East parts* was confirmed by *Emanuel Comnenus the Easterne Emperour, Anno 1174.* *ως οι δινής αποκεκλεισταί πάσαις πλεοντος εἰς τὸ δικαστεῖον, that all accessse to the tribunall should bee quite shut up; that none of those who sate in judgement should sit on any cause that day.* Yet this not absolutely, but *εἰ μὴ βασιλεὺς τοιούτοις ὀκνούσιας τρόπων, ή αὐτογένεσις, &c.* unlesse the King shall please on any new emergent cause, as many times busynesse comes unlooked for, to appoint it otherwise. Thus also for the *workes of labour, fishing* had beeene restrained on the *Lords day*, as a *toylesome Act*; and on the other *holy dayes*, as well as that: yet did it please Pope *Alexander the third*, (he entred on the chaire of *Rome* Anno 1160.) to order by his *decretal*, that on the *Lords day* and the rest, it might be lawfull unto those who dwelt upon the *Coast*, *Si halecia terre inclinarint, eorum captioni, ingruente necessitate, intendere*; to set themselves unto their *fishinge*, in case the *Herring* came within their reach, and the time was seasonable. Provided that they sent a convenient portion, unto the *Churches* round about them, and unto the *poore*. Nay even the *workes of handycrafts* were in some sort suffered. For whereas in the *Councell of Laodicea*, it was determined, that men should rest on the *Lords day*, *απὸ τῶν ἐργῶν κατέτων*, from all their *handy worke*, and repaire to *Church*. *Balsamon* tells us in his *Glosse*, that so it was resolved amongst them, *in Can. 29.* *εἰ αὐτογένεσις, not absolutely; but εἰ τὸ δύνασθοι εἰ μετοι* *Council-Land.*

Decretall. 2.
tit. 9. c. 3.

CHAP. 50. The History of PART. 2.

if with conveniency they could. For still, saith he, (he lived in *Anno 1191*) in case men labour on that day, *εκ πενιας, ή αλλας περι θεραπειας*, either because of want or any other necessity they are held excusable. Lastly, whereas Pope *Gregory the ninth* had on the *Sundayes* and the *holy dayes* commanded *ut homines & jumenta omnia quiescant*, that there should be a general restraint from labour both of man and beast; there was a reservation also, *nisi urgens necessitas instet, vel nisi pauperibus, vel ecclesia, gratis fiat*; unless on great necessity, or some good Office to be done unto the poore, or to the Church.

(9) Nor were there reservations and exceptions onely in point of *busynesse* and nothing found in point of *practise*; but there are many *passages*, especially of the *greatest persons, & most publick actions* left upon record; to let us know what liberty they assumed unto themselves, as well on this day as the rest. And in such onely shall I instance, and as being most *exemplary*: and therefore most conduced to my present purpose. And first wee reade of a great *battaile* fought on *Palme Sunday, Anno 718.* betweene *Charles Martell*, *Grand master of the housshould of the King of France*, and *Hilpericus the King himselfe*; wherein the victory fell to *Charles*: and yet wee reade not there of any great *necessity*, nay of none at all, but that they might on both sides have deferred the *battaile*, had they conceived it any sinne to fight that day. *Vpon the Sunday before Lent, Anno 835.* *Ludowick the Emperour* surnamed *Pius*, or the godly, together with his *Prelates and others*, which had beeene present with him at the assembly held at *Theonville*, went on his journey unto *Mets*: nor doe we finde that it did derogate at all from his *name and piety*. *Vpon the Sunday after Whitsontide Anno 844.* *Ludowick* sonne unto *Lotharius the Emperour* made his *solemne entrance into Rome*: the *Roman Citizens* attending him with their *Flagges and Ensignes*; the *Pope* and *Clergy* staying his *comming* in *S. Peters Church*, there to entertaine him. *Vpon a Sunday, Anno 1014.*

PART. 2.

the Sabbath.

CHAP. 50.

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1014. *Henry the Emperour duodecim senatoribus vallatus*, environed with twelve of the *Roman Senatours*, came to *S. Peters Church*, and there was crowned, together with his wife, by the *Pope* then being. *On Easter day, in ipsa die paschalis solennitatis, Anno 1027.* *Conrade the Emperour* was solemnly inaugurated by *Pope John*; *Canutus King of England*, and *Rodalph King of the Burgundians*, *Ortho Frising.* *hist. l. 6. c. 29.* being then both present: and the next *Sunday* after began his journey towards *Germany*. *Vpon Palme Sunday, Anno 1084.* *Wibert Archbishop of Ravenna* was solemnly inthronized in the *Chaire of Rome*: and the next *Sunday* after being *Easter day*, *Henry the third Imperiali dignitate sublimatus est*, was crowned *Emperour*. *On Passion Sunday Anno 1148.* *Lewis the King of France* afterwards *Canonized* for a *Saint*, made his first entrie into *Hierusalem* with all his *Army*; and yet we reade not any where that it was layd in barre against him, to put by his *Sainting*; as possibly it might be now, were it yet to doe: What should I speake of *Councells* on this day assembled, as that of *Charles, Anno 1146.* for the recovery of the *holy land*; of *Tours*, on *Trinity Sunday* as wee call it now, *Anno 1164.* against *Ottavian the Pseudo Pope*; that of *Ferrara*, upon *Passion Sunday, Anno 1177.* against *Frederick the Emperour*; or that of *Paris, Anno 1226.* summoned by *Stephen then Bishop* there, on the fourth *Sunday in Lent*, for the condemning of certaine dangerous and erronious positions, at that time on foote. I have the rather instanced in these particulars, partly because they hapned about these times, when *Prince* and *Prelate* were most intent in laying more and more restraints upon their people, for the more honour of this day: and partly because being all of them *publicke actions*, and such as mooved not forwards but by divers wheeles; they did require a greater number of people to attend them. And howsoever *Councells* in themselves be of an ecclesiastical nature; and that the crowning of a King in the act it selfe, be mixed of *sacred* and of *civill*: yet in the

the traine and great attendance that belongs unto them, the pompe the triumphes, and concourse of so many people they are merely secular. And secular although they were, yet we may well perfwade our selves, that neyther *Actor* or *Spectator*, thought themselves guilty, any wise of offering any the least wrong to the *Lords day*: though those solemnities no question might without any prejudice have beeene put off to another time. No more did those who did attend the *Princes* before remembred in their magnificent entries into *Rome* and *Metz*; or the other millitary entrance into *Hierusalem*: which were mere secular *Acts*, and had not any the least mixture, eyther of ecclesiastical or sacred nature.

(10) For recreations in these times, there is no question to bee made, but all were lawfull to bee used on the *Lords day*, which were accounted lawfull upon other dayes; and had not beeene prohibited by authority: and wee finde none prohibited but dancing onely. Not that all kind of dancing was by Law restrained: but either the abuse thereof at times unseasonable, when men should have beeene present in the Church of God; or else immodest shamelesse dancings, such as were those, against the which the Fathers did inveigh so sharply in the primitive times. In reference to the first, *Damascen* tells us of some men, who onely wished for the *Lords day*, *ut ab opere feriati vitiis operam dent*, that being quitted from their labours, they might enjoy the better their sinfull pleasures. For looke into the streets (saith he) upon other dayes, and there is no man to bee found; *Die dominico egredere, atque alios cithara canentes, alios applaudentes, & saltantes, &c.* But looke abroad on the *Lords day*, and you shall finde some singing to the Harpe, others applauding of the Musicke; some dancing, others jeering of their Neighbours, alios denique luctantes reperiens, and some also wraftling. It followeth, *Praco ad ecclesiam vocat, & omnes segnitie torpent,*

Parallelorum
lib. 3. cap. 47.

“ torpent, & moras neclunt: cithara aut tuba personuit?
“ omnes tanquam alis instructi currunt. Doth the Clarke
“ call unto the Church? they have a feaver-turdane, and
“ they cannot stirre: doth the Harpe or Trumpet call
“ them to their pastimes? they flic, as they had wings to
“ helpe them. They that can finde in this a prohibition ei-
“ ther of musicke, dancing, publicke sports, or manlike exer-
*“ cises, such as wraftling is on the *Lords day*; must certaine-*
*“ ly have better eyes than *Lynceus*, and more wit than*
Oedipus. Plainely they prove the contrary to what some
allege them: and shew most clearely, that the recreati-
“ ons there remembred, were allowed of publickly; other-
“ wise none durst use them, as wee see they did, in the open
“ streets. Onely the Father seemes offended, that they pre-
“ ferred their pastimes before their prayers; that they made
“ little or no haste to Church, and ranne upon the spurre to
“ their recreations: that where Gods publicke servit was
*“ to be first considered, in the *Lords day*, and after, on spare*
“ times mens private pleasures; these had quite changed
*“ the course of nature, & loved the *Lords day* more for plea-*
“ sure than for devotion. This is the most that can be made,
*“ from this place of *Damascen*; and this makes more for*
dancing, and such recreations, then it doth against them, in
“ case they be not used at unsitting houres. Much of this
*nature, is the *Canon* produced by some, to condemne*
*dancing on the *Lords day*, as unlawfull utterly: which be-*
“ ing looked into, condemnes alone immodest and unseeme-
*“ ly dancings, such as no *Canon* could allow of upon any day*
*“ of what name soever. A *Canon* made by Pope *Eugenius**
*“ in a Synod held at *Rome*, Anno 826. what time both*
*“ Prince and Prelates did agree together to raise the *Lords**
“ day to as high a pitch as they fairely might. Now in this
*Synod, there were made three *Canons* which concerne*
this day: the first prohibitive of busynesse and the workes
“ of labour; the second against processe, in causes criminall;
“ the third, ne mulieres festis diebus vanis ludis vident: that
women doe not give themselves on the holy dayes, unto
wanton

CHAP. 5. *The History of* **PART. 2.**
 wanton sports : and is as followeth. *Sunt quidam, & maxime mulieres, qui festis & sacris diebus, &c.* Certaine
 the care, but chiefly women, which on the holy dayes,
 and Festivalls of the blessed Martyrs, upon the which
 they ought to rest, have no great list to come to Church,
 as they ought to doe: *sed balando, & turpia verba decantando, &c.* but spend the time in dancing, and in shame-
 less songs, leading and holding out their dances as the
 Pagans used, and in that manner, come to the Congre-
 gation. These, if they come unto the Church, with
 few sinnes about them, returne backe with more: and
 therefore are to bee admonished by the parish Priest,
 that they must onely come to Church to say their
 prayers: such as doe otherwise, destroying not them-
 selves alone, but their neighbours also. Now in this
 Canon there are these three things to be considered: First
 that these women used not to come unto the Church with
 that sobriety and gravity which was fitting, as they ought
 to doe; but dancing, singing, sporting, as the Pagans used,
 when they repaired unto their Temples: secondly, that
 these dancings were accompanied with immodest songs,
 and therefore as unfit for any day, as they were for
 Sunday: and thirdly, that these kind of dancings
 were not prohibited on the Lords day onely, but on
 all the holy dayes. Such also was the Canon of the
 third Councell of Toledo, Anno. 589. which after-
 wards became a part of the Canon Law; though by
 the oversight of the Collector, it is there sayd to be the
 fourth: and this will make as little to the purpose, as the
 other did. It is this that followeth, *Irreligio a consuetudo est, quam vulgus per sanctorum solemnitates & festivitates agere consuevit. Populi qui divina officia debent attendere, saltationibus turpibus invigilant, cantica non solum mala canentes, sed etiam religiosorum officijs perfrepunt. Hoc enim ut ab omni Hispania [the Decret readeas ab omnibus provincijs.] depellatur, sacerdotum ac judicium a sancto Concio-*
lio cura committitur. There is an irreligious custome
 " taken

" taken up by the common people, that on the Festivalls
 of the Saints, those which should be attent on Divine
 Service, give themselves wholy to lascivious and shame-
 less dances: and doe not onely sing unseemly songs,
 but disturbe the Service of the Church. Which mis-
 chiefe that it may bee soone remooved out of all the
 Country, the Councell leaves it to the care of the
 Priests and Judges. Such dances and imployed to so bad
 a purpose, there is none could tolerate; and yet this ge-
 nerally was upon the holy dayes, *Saints dayes* I meane, as
 well as *Sundayes*: whereby wee see the Church had no
 lese care of one, than of the other.

(11) And so indeede it had, not in this alone, but in
 all things else: the *holy dayes*, as wee now distinguish
 them, being in most points, equall to the *Sunday*; and
 in some superiour. *Leo* the Emperour by his Edict shut
 up the *Theater*, and the *Cirque* or *shemplace*, on the *Lords*
 day. The like is willed expresselly, in the sixt generall
 Councell holden at *Constantinople*, Anno 692. for the *can. 66.*
 whole *Easter weeke*. *Nequaquam ergo his diebus, equorum cursus, vel aliquod publicum fiat spectaculum*; so the
 Canon hath it. The Emperour *Charles*, restrained the
Husbandman and the *tradesman*, from following their
 usuall worke on the *Lords day*. The Councell of *Me-
 lun* doth the same, for the said *Easter weeke*, and in more
 particulars: it being ordered by that Synod, that men for-
 beare, during the time above remembred, *ab omnibus* *Can. 77.*
*opere rurali, fabrili, Carpentario, gynaceo, camentario, pictorio, venato-
 riorio, forensi, mercatorio, audienciali, ac sacrametis exigendis*; from husbandry, the craft of Smithes & Carpenters, from
 needle-work, cementing, painting, hunting, pleadings,
 merchandize, casting of accounts, & from taking Oathes.
 The *Benedictines* had but three messe of pottage upon o-
 ther dayes: *die vero dominico & in precipuis festivitatibus*, but on the *Lords day* and the *principall festivalls*; a fourth
 was added; as saith *Theodomare* the *Abbot* in an *Epistle*
 to *Charles the Great*. *Law-suites and Courts of judge-
 ment*

Conc. Tribu.
riens. can. 26.Ap. Balsam.
tit. 7. cap. 1.

Ap. Balsam.

Lib. 2. tit. de
ferijs cap. 5.

ment were to bee layd aside, and quite shut up on the *Lords day*; as many Emperours and Councells had determined severally. The Councell held at *Friburg*, Anno 895. did resolve the same of *holy dayes* or *Saints dayes*, and the time of *Lent*. *Nullus omnino secularis diebus dominicis, vel Sanctorum in festis, seu Quadragesime, aut jejuniorum, placitum habere, sed nec populum illo presumat coercere*, as the *Canon goeth*. The very same with that of the Councell of *Erford*, Anno 932. cap. 2. But what neede private and particular Synods bee produced, as witnesses herein, when wee have *Emperours*, *Popes*, and *Patriarkes*, that affirme the same. To take them in the order in which they lived, *Phorius* the *Patriarke of Constantinople*, Anno 858. thus reckoneth up the *Festivalls* of especiall note, *viz.* *Seaven dayes before Easter*, and *seaven dayes after Christmase*, *Epiphanie*, *καὶ ἡ τέ μέρες τῶν Ἀποστόλων*, *καὶ ἡ κυριακή*, the feasts of the *Apostles*, and the *Lords day*. And then he addes, *καὶ εἰ ταῖς μεσοταῖς ἡμέραις ἡτε θέρα τελοῦται, ἡτε διην λέγεται*, that on those dayes, they neither suffer publicke shewes, nor Courts of justice. *Emanuel Comnenus* next, *Emperour of Constantinople*, Anno 1174. *Θεοπίτουεν ἐνέργειας τοῦτον τὸν επιπλόγετον, &c.* We doe ordene saith he that these dayes following be exempt from labour, *viz.* the *nativity of the Virgin Mary*, *holy-rood day*, (and so hee reckoneth all the rest in those parts observed) together with all the *Sundays* in the yeare: and that in them there be not any acceso to the seates of judgement. The like *Pope Gregory the ninth*, Anno 1128. determineth in the *Decretall*, where numbring up the *holy dayes* he concludes at last, that neither any *processie* hold, nor *sentencie* bee in force, pronounced on any of those dayes, though both parts mutually should consent unto it. *Consentientibus etiam partibus, nec processus habitus teneat, nec sententia quam contingit diebus hujusmodi promulgari*. So the *Law* resolves it. Now lest the *feast of Whitsomido*, might not have some respect

spect, as well as *Easter*, it was determined in the Councell held at *Engelheim*, Anno 948. that *Munday, Tuesday, Wednesday in the Whitsun-weke, non minus quam dies dominicus solenniter honorentur*, should no lesse solemnely be observed, than the *Lords day* was. So when that *Otho* Bishop of *Bamberg* had planted the faith of *Christ Vrffergens* in *Pomerania*, and was to give account thereof to the *Chronic*. Pope then being, he certifieth him by his letters, Anno 1124, that having *christned* them, and built them *Churches* he left them three *injunctions* for their *Christian carriage*. First that they eat no flesh on *Fridays*: secondly, that they rest the *Lords day ab omni opere malo*, from every evill worke, repairing to the *Church* for religious duc-*ties*: and thirdly *Sanctorum solennitates cum vigiliis omni diligentia obseruent*, that they keepe carefully the *Saints dayes*, with the *Eves* attendant. So that in all these outward matters, we finde faire equality; save that in one respect the *principall festivals* had preheminence above the *Sunday*: For whereas *fishermen* were permitted by the *Decretall* of *Pope Alexander the third*, as before was sayd, *diebus dominicis & aliis festis*, on the *Lords day* and other *holy dayes*, to fish for *herring*, in some cases: there was a speciall exception of the greater *festivals*, *praterquam in majoribus anni solennitatibus*, as the order was. But not to deale in *generals* onely, *Isidore* Arch-bishop of *Sevill* in the beginning of the *seventh Century*, making a *Catalogue* of the *principall festivalls*, beginnes his list with *Easter*, and ends it with the *Lords day*, as before we noted, in the *fifth section* of this Chapter. Now lest it should be thought that in *sacred matters* and *points of substance*, the other *holy dayes* were not as much regarded, as the *Lords day* was: the Councell held at *Mentz* Anno 813 did appoint it thus, that if the *Bishop* were *infirme*, or not at *home*, *Non desit tamen diebus dominicis, & festivitatibus, qui verbum dei predicer juxta quod populus intelligat*; yet there should still

still be some to preach Gods word unto the people, according unto their capacities, both on the *Lords day*, and the *other festivals*. Indeed why should not both be observed alike; the *Saints dayes* being dedicated unto God, as the *Lords day* is; and standing both of them on the same *authority*: on the *authority of the Church*, for the *particular institution*; on the *authority of Gods Law*, for the *generall warrant*. It was *commanded by the Lord*, and written in the *heart of man* by the *penne of nature*, that certaine times should bee appointed for Gods *publicke worship*: the *choyng of the times*, was left to the *Churches power*; and she designed the *Saints dayes*, as shee did the *Lords*; both his, and both allotted to his service onely. This made *Saint Bernard* ground them all, the *Lords day* and the *other holy dayes* on the *fourth Commandement*, the *third* in the *Account of the Church of Rome*. *Spirituale obsequium deo prabetur in observantia sanctorum solennitatis*

Super tum, unde tertium praeceptum contexitur. Observa diem Sabati, i. e. in sacris feriis te exerce. So *S. Bernard* in his third Sermon, *Super salve Regina*.

(12) The *Lords day* and the *holy dayes* or *Saints dayes* being of so neere a kinne; we must next see what care was taken by the *Church*, in these present ages, for *hallowing* them unto the *Lord*. The times were certainly devout, and therefore the lesse question to be made, but that the *holy dayes* were employed, as they ought to be: in hearing of the *Word of God*, receiving of the *Sacraments*, and powring forth their *prayers* unto him. The *sixt generall counsell* holden at *Constantinople* appointed that those to whom the *care* of the *Church* was trusted, should on all dayes, *Excep̄tis de rāis n̄ exāndis* especially on the *Lords day*, instruct the *Clergie* and the *people*, out of the *holy Scripture*, in the *wayes of godlinesse*. I say the *Clergie* and the *people*, for in these times the *Revenue* of the *Church* being great, and the *offerings libe-*

Cure

Cure of soules, many assisting ministers of *inferiour Orders*, which lived upon Gods *holy Altar*. Somewhat to this purpose, of preaching every *Sunday*, yea and *Saints dayes* too in the *Congregation*, we have seene before, established in the *Councell at Mentz Anno 813*. So for receiving of the *Sacrament*, whereas some would that it should be *administred every day*, *singulis in anno diebus* as *Bertram* hath it, *lib de corp. & sangu. Christi: Rabanus Maurus* who lived 824, leaves it as a thing *indifferent*; advising all men notwithstanding, in case there be

De Sermon.
no lawfull let,

to communicate every *Lords day*. *Quotidie Eucharistie communionem percipere nec vitupero nec laudi omnibus tamen dominicis diebus communicandum hortor*, *si tamen mens in affectu peccandi non sit*, as his words there are. And whereas this good custome had beene long neglected, it was appointed that the *Sacrament* should be *administred every Lords day*, by the *Councell at Aken. Anno 836*.

Ne forte qui longe est a sacramentis quibus est redemptus &c: least, saith the councell, they which

keepe so much distance from the Sacraments of their redemption, be kept as much at distance from the fruition of their Salvation. As for the *holy dayes* or *Saints dayes*, there needed no such *Canon*, to enjoyne on them, the *celebration* of the *Sacrament*, which was annexed to them of course. So likewise for the *publicke prayers*, besides what scatteringly hath beene sayd in former places, the *Councell held at Friburg Anno 895* hath determined thus,

Diebus dominicis & sanctorum festis vigiliis & ora- *conc. Friburi-*

tionibus n̄ istendum est, & ad missas cuilibet Christiano cum ens. Can 26.

oblationibus currendum: that on the *Lords day*, and the *festivalls of the Saints*, every *Christian* was to be intent upon his *devotions*, to *watch* and *pray*, and *goe to Masse*, and there make his *offering*. Its true the *Service* of the *Church* being in the *Latine*; and in these times, that language being in some *Provinces* quite worne out, and in some others growne into a different *dialect*, from

what

what it was : that part of Gods worship which was publicke prayer, served not so much to comfort and to edification as it should have done. As for the outward adjuncts of Gods publicke service, on the Churches part, the principall was that of Musick which in these Ages grew to a perfect heighth. We shewed before that *vocall musick* in the Church, is no lesse antient than the *liturgie* of the Church it selfe : which as it was begunne in *Ignatius* time, after the manner of plaine-song, or a melodious kinde of pronunciation; as before was sayd; so in *S. Austins* time, it became so excellent, that it drew many to the Church, and consequently many to the faith. Now to that *vocall musick* which was then in use, and of which formerly we spake; it pleased the Church, in the beginning of these Ages, to adde instrumentall: the organ being added to the voyce, by *Pope Vitalian*, Anno 653; almost 1000 yeares agoe, and long before the aberration of the Church from its pristine piety. And certainly it was not done without good advise, there being nothing of that kinde, more powerfull, than melody both vocall and instrumentall, for rasing of mens hearts, and sweetning their affections towards God. Not any thing, wherein the militant Church here on Earth, hath more resemblance to the Church in heaven triumphant; then in that sacred and harmonious way of singing prayse, and *Allelujahs* to the Lord our God; which is and hath of long beene used in the Church of Christ.

(13) To bring this Chapter to an end, in all that hath beene sayd touching the keeping of the *Lords day*, wee finde not any thing like a *Sabbath* either in the practise of the Church, or writings of particular men: however these last Ages grew to such an heighth, in restraint of labours on this day; that they might seeme to have a minde, to revive that part of the fourth Commandement, *Thou shalt doe no manner of worke upon it.* For where

where they tell us of this day, as before was sayd, that it was taken up by *custome*, on the *authority* of the *Church*, at most on *Apostolical tradition*; this makes it plaine, that they intended no such matter as a *Sabbath day*; though, that the *Congregation* might assemble in the greater numbers, and men might joyne together in all christian dueties, with the greater force; it pleased the *Church* and principall powers thereof, to restraine men from corporall labours, and binde them to repaire to the house of God. Or if they did intend the *Lords day* for a *Sabbath day*, its plaine they must have made more *Sabbaths* than one day in seven: those *holy dayes*, which universally were observed in the *Christian Church*, being no otherwise to be kept than the *Lords day* was; and those increasing in these Ages to so great a number, that they became a *burden* to the common people. Nor is it likely, that being once free from the bondage of the *Jewish Sabbath*, they would submit themselves unto another of their owne devising: and doe therewith, as the *Idolaters* of old with their *wooden gods*, first make them, and then presently fall downe and worship them. Rather they tooke a course to restraine the *Iewes*, from *sanctifying* their *Sabbath*, and other *legall festivals*, as before they used. *Statutum est de Iudeis*, in the 12 Councell of *Tolledo* Anno 681, *Ne Sabbath a, certarique festivitates ritus sui, celebrare presumant*: and not so onely: *Sed ut diebus dominicis & ab opere cesserent*, but that they should refraine from labour on the *Lords day* also. Of any *Sabbath* to be kept in the *Christian Church*, some few might dreame perhaps, such filthy dreamers as *Saint Jude* speaks of; but they did onely *dreame* thereof; they saw no such matter. They which had better *visions* could perceive no *Sabbath*; but in this life, a *Sabbath* or a *rest* from *sinne*; and in the *life to come*, a *Sabbath*, or a *rest* from *misery*. Plainely *Rupertus* so conceived it, as great a Clerke, as any in the times wherein hee li-
ved,

ved, which was in the beginning of the twelfth Century. *Nam sicut signum circumcisionis incarnationem &c.* " For as, saith he, the signe of Circumcision, foreshewed the incarnation of our Lord and Saviour; the offering of the paschall Lambe, his death and passion: Sic Sabbathimus ille requiem annunciat, qua post hanc vitam posita est sanctis & electis; so did the Sabbath signifie that eternall rest, which after this life is provided for the Saints, and elect of God. And more than this, Spiritualis homo non uno die hebdomadis, sed omni tempore sabbatizare satagit; the true spirituall man keepes not his Sabbath once a weeke, but at all times what ever, every houre and minute. What then? would hee have no day set a part for Gods publicke service; no, but not the Sabbath. Because, (saith he) wee are not to rejoice in this world that perisheth, but in the sure and certaine hope of the resurrection; therefore wee ought not rest the seventh day in sloath and idlenesse: but we dispose our selves to prayers and hearing of the word of God upon the first day of the weeke, on the which Christ rose: cum summa cura providentes, ut tam illo quam ceteris diebus feriati semper simus a servili opere peccati. Provided always that upon that, and all dayes else, we keepe our selves free from the servile Acts of sinne. This was the Sabbath which they principally looked for in this present life: never applying of that name, to the Lords day, in any of those monuments of learning they have left behinde them. The first who ever used it, to denote the Lords day, (the first that I have met with in all this search) is one Petrus Alfonus, he lived about the times that Rupertus did; who calls the Lords day by the name of the Christian Sabbath. *Dies dominica, dies viz. resurrectionis, qua sua salvationis causa extitit, Christianorum sabbatum est.* But this no otherwise to be construed, then by Analogie and resemblance, no otherwise than the

the feast of Easter is called the Christian Passover; and Whitontide, the Christian Pentecost. As for the Saturday, the old Sabbath day, though it continued not a Sabbath; yet it was still held in an high esteeme, in the Easterne Churches: counted a festivall day, or at least no fast; and honoured with the meetings of the Congregation. In reference to the first we finde how it was charged on the Church of Rome, by the sixt Councell in Constantinople, Anno 692, that in the holy time of Lent, *tois tauris cabfan: n=eu:ir*, they used to fast the Saturday, which was directly contrary to the Canons of the Apostles, as they there alleadge. This also was objected by Photius Patriarke of Constantinople, against Pope Nicolas of Rome, Anno 867; and after that, by Michael of Constantinople, against Leo the ninth Anno 1053. which plainely shewes that in the Easterne Churches they observed it otherwise. And in relation to the other, we finde that whereas in the principall Church of Constantinople, the holy Sacrament was celebrated onely on the greater feasts, as also on the Saturdayes and the Sundayes [Sabbatis & dominicis] and not on other dayes, as at Rome it was: Constantine surnamed Monachus, Anno 1054, enriched it with revenue, and bestowed much faire plate upon it, that so they might be able every day to performe that office. Which proves sufficiently that Saturday was always one, in all publicke dueties; and that it kept even pace with Sunday. But it was otherwise, of old, in the Church of Rome, where they did *laborare & jejunare*, as Humbertus saith, in his defence of Leo the ninth against Nicetas. And this with little opposition, or interruption, save that which had beene made in the City of Rome, in the beginning of the seventh Century; and was soone crushed by Gregory then Bishop there, as before we noted. And howsoever Urban of that name the second, did consecrate it to the weekly service of the blessed Virgin, and instituted in the Councell held at Clermont, *Heli. Boet. hist. L. 22.* Anne

ved, which was in the beginning of the twelfth Century. *Nam sicut signum circumcisio[n]is incarnationem &c.*
 " For as, saith he, the signe of *Circumcisio[n]*, foreshewed
 " the incarnation of our Lord and Saviour; the offering
 " of the *paschall Lambe*, his death and *passio[n]*: Sic Sab-
 " batismus ille requiem annunciat, qua post hanc vitam
 " posita est sanctis & electis; so did the Sabbath signifie
 " that eternall rest, which after this life is provided for
 " the Saints, and elect of God. And more than this,
 " *Spiritualis homo non uno die hebdomadis, sed omni tem-*
 " *pore sabbatizare satagit*; the true spirituall man keepes
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 " no, but not the Sabbath. Because, (saith he) wee
 " are not to rejoice in this world that perisheth, but in
 " the sure and certaine hope of the *resurrection*; there-
 " fore wee ought not rest the *seventh day* in sloath and
 " idlenesse: but we dispose our selves to prayers and
 " hearing of the word of God upon the *first day* of the
 " weeke, on the which Christ rose: *cum summa cura*
 " *providentes, ut tam illo quam ceteris diebus feriati sem-*
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 crushed by *Gregory then Bishop* there, as before we no-
 ted. And howſoever *Urban* of that name the ſecond,
 did conſecrate it to the *weekly service* of the *blessed Vir-*
gin, and inſtituted in the Councell held at *Clermont*,
 Anne

[Anno 1095, that our Ladies office, [Officium B. Mariae] should be sayd upon it; *Eandemque Sabbato quoque die, precipua devotione, populum Christianum colere debere*, and that upon that day, all Christian folke should worship her with their best devotions: yet it continued still, as before it was, a day of fasting and of working. So that in all this time, in 1200 yeares, we have found no Sabbath: nor doe we think to meeete with any in the times that follow; either amongst the Schoolemen, or amongst the Protestants, which next shall come upon the Stage.



CHAP. VI.

What is the judgement of the Schoolemen and of the Protestants; and what the practise of those Churches in this Lords day busynesse.

(1) *That in the judgement of the Schoolemen the keeping of one day in seven, is not the morall part of the fourth Commandement.* (2) *As also that the Lords day is not founded on Divine authority, but the authority of the Church.* (3) *A Catalogue of the holy dayes drawne up in the Councell of Lyons: and the new Doctrine of the Schooles, touching the native sanctitie of the holy dayes.* (4) *In what estate the Lords day stood, in matter of restraint from labour, at the Reformation.* (5) *The Reformatours finde great fault, both with the sayd new doctrine, and restraints from labour.* (6) *That in the judgement of the Protestant divines, the keeping of one day in seven, is not the morall part of the fourth Commandement.* (7) *as that the Lords day hath no ground on which to stand, then the authority of the Church.* (8) *And that the Church hath power to change the day, and to transferre it to some other.* (9) *What is the practise of all Churches, the Roman, Lutheran, and Calvinian chiefly in matter of Devotion, rest from labour, and sufferance of lawfull pleasures.* (10) *Dancing cryed downe by Calvin and the French Churches, not in relation to the Lords day but the sport it selfe.* (11) *In what estate the Lords day stands in*

in the Easterne Churches ; and that the Saturday is no
lesse esteemed of by the Ethiopians, then the said Lords day.

(i)



Ecce are now come unto an Age wherein the learning of the world began to make a different shew, from what it did : to such a *period of time*, in which was made the greatest alteration in the whole fabbricke of the Church that ever any time could speake of. The *Schoolemen*, who sprung up in the beginning of the thirteenth Age, contracted learning, which before was diffused and scattered into fine subtilties, and distinctions : the *Protestants* in the beginning of the sixteenth, endeavouring to destroy those buildings, which with such diligence and curiosity had beeene erected by the *Schoolemen*; though they consented well enough in the present busynesse, so farre as it concernd the *institution* either of the *Lords day*, or the *Sabbath*. Of these, and what they taught, and did in reference to the point in hand, wee are now to speake : taking along with us such passages of especiall note, as hapned in the Christian world, by which wee may learne any thing that concernes our busynesse. And first beginning with the *Schoolemen*, they tell us generally of the *Sabbath*, that it was a *Ceremony*, and that the fourth Commandement is of a different nature, from the other nine: That whereas all the other precepts of the *Decalogue*, are simply *morall*, the fourth which is the third in their account, is partly *morall*, partly *ceremoniall*. *Morale quidem quantum ad hoc, quod homo deponet aliquod tempus vita sua, ad vacandum divinis. &c.* Morall it is in this regard, that men must set apart some particular time, for Gods publicke service : it being naturall to man to destinate particular times to particular actions, as for his dinner,

224. 1. 2. 2.
art 4. ad 1.

dinner, for his sleepe and such other actions. *Sed in quantum in hoc precepto determinatur speciale tempus in signum creationis mundi, sic est preceptum ceremoniale.* But in as much as that there is a day appointed in the Law it selfe, in token of Gods rest, and the worlds creation ; in that respect the Law is *ceremoniall*, And *ceremoniall* too they make it, in reference to the *Allegory* ; out Savours resting in the grave that day : and in relation to the *Analogicall* meaning of it, as it prefigureth our eternall rest in the Heaven of glories. Finally they conclude of the fourth Commandement, that it is placed in the *Decalogue*, in quantum est preceptum morale, non in quantum est ceremoniale ; onely so farre forth as it is *morall*, and not as *ceremoniall* : that is, that wee are bound by the fourth Commandement to destinate some time to Gods publick service, which is simply *morall* : but not the *Seventh day*, which is plainly *ceremoniall*. *Aquinas* so resolves it, for all the rest : his judgement in this point, (if Doctor *Prideaux* note be true, as I have no reason but to thinke so) being universally embraced, and followed by all the *Schoolemen*, of what sect soever. So that in him we have them all : all of them consonant in this point, to make up the *harmony*; however dissonant enough in many others. But that this consent may appeare the more ful & perfect, we will take notice of two others, men famous in the *Schooles*, and eminent for the times in which they lived. First *Bonaventure*, who lived in the same time with *Aquinas*, and dyed the same yeare with him, which was 1274. hath determined thus. *Intelligendum est quod preceptum illud habet aliquid, quod est mere morale, &c.* It is precept. *Serm. de decem* *to be conceived, saith he, that in the fourth Commandement there is something which is simply morall* ; *some thing againe that is plainly ceremoniall, and something mixt.* The sanctifying of a day is *morall* ; *the sanctifying of a seventh day, ceremoniall : rest from the workes of labour, being mixt of both.* *Quod precipit dominus sanctificationem, est Præceptum morale ! Est*

L 1 2

In orat. de
Sabbato.

in Exod. 20.
qu. 11.

Et in hoc praecepto aliquid ceremoniale, ut figuratio diei septima. Item continetur aliquid quod est partim morale, partim ceremoniale, ut cessatio ab operibus. Lastly, Tostatus Bishop of Avila in Spaine hath resolved the same; aliquid est in eo juris naturalis, aliquid legalis: that in the fourth Commandement there is some thing naturall, and something legall; that it is partly morall and partly ceremoniall. Naturale est quod dum Deum colimus, ab aliis abstineamus, &c. Moral & naturall it is, that for the time, we worship God, doe abstaine from every thing of what kind soever, which may divert our thoughts from that holy action. But that wee should designe, in every weeke, one day unto that employment; and that the whole day bee thereto appointed; and that in all that day, a man shall doe no manner of worke: those things hee reckoneth there to be ceremoniall.

2.20. qu. 122. (2) So for the *Lords day*, it is thus determined by Aquinas, that it depends on the authority of the Church, the custome and consent of Gods faithfull servants; and not on any obligation layd upon us by the fourth Commandement. *Diei dominicae observantia in nova lege, succedit observantia sabbati, non ex vi praecepti legis, sed ex constitutione ecclesie & consuetudine populi Christiani.* What followeth thereupon? *Et ideo non est ita arcta prohibitio operandi, in die dominica, sicut in die sabbati.* Therefore, saith he, the prohibition of doing no worke on the *Lords day*, is not so rigorous and severe, as upon the *Sabbath*; many things being licenced on the one, which were forbidden on the other: as dressing meate and others of that kind and nature. And not so onely, but hee gives us a *dispensatur facilius in nova lege*, an easier hope of dispensation under the *Gospel* in case upon necessity, we meddle with prohibited labours; then possibly could have beene gotten under the *Law*. The like Tostatus tells us, though in different words: save that he doth extend the prohibition, as well to all the feasts of the Old Testament, as all the *holy dayes of the new*; and neither to the *Sabbath*,

neither, nor the *Lords day* onely. *In veteri lege major fuit strictio in observatione festorum, quam in nova lege.* How in Exod. 20. so? In omnibus enim festivitatibus nostris quantumcumque qu. 13. *in festis, &c.* Because, saith he, in all our festivalls how great soever, whether they bee the *Lords dayes*, or the feasts of *Easter*, or any of the higher ranke, it is permitted to dresse meate and to kindle fire, &c. As for the grounds whereon they stood, he makes this difference betweene them, that the *Ierusalem Sabbath* had its warrant from divine commandement: but that the *Lords day*, though it came in the place thereof, is founded onely on ecclesiastical constitution. *Colobatur Sabbathum ex mandatis, cuius loco successit dies dominica, et tamen manifestum est, quod observatio diei dominice, non est de jure divino, sed de jure humano Canonicco.* This is plaine enough, and this he proves, because the Church hath still a power *mutare illum diem, vel totaliter tollere*, either to change the day, or take it utterly away, and to dispense touching the keeping of the same: which possibly it neither could nor ought to doe, were the *Lords day* of any other institution, then the Churches onely. They onely have the power to repeale a Law, which had power to make it; *Qui habet institutionem, habet destitutionem*, as is the Bishops plea in a *Quare Impedit*. As for the first of these two powers, that by the Church the day may be transferred, and abrogated; Suarez hath thus distinguished in it; *verum id esse absolute, non practice*: that is, as I conceive his meaning, that such a power is absolutely in the Church, though not convenient now to be put in practise. According unto that of S. Paul, which probably was the ground of the distinction, *All things are lawfull for me but all things are not expedient.* This is the generall tendry of the *Roman Schooles*, that which is publickly avowed, and made good amongst them. And howsoever Petrus de Anchoreda and Nicholas Abbat of Paterno two learned Canonists; as also Angelus de Clavasio, and Silvester de Prierats, two as learned Casuists, seeme to defend the

institution of the *Lords day* to have its ground and warrant on divine authority: yet did the generall current of the *Schooles*, and of the *Canonists* also, runne the other way. And in that current still it holds, the *Jesuites* and most learned men in the Church of *Rome*, following the generall and received opinion of the *Schoolemen*: whereof see *Bellarus. de cultu Sanct. l. 3. c. 11. Estius in 3. Sent. dist. 37. Sect. 13.* but specially *Azorius*, in his *Institut. Moral.* part second cap. 2. who gives us an whole Catalogue of them, which hold the *Lords day* to be founded onely on the authority of the Church. Touching the other power, the power of *dispensation*, there is not any thing more certaine, then that the Church both may and doth dispense with such as have therein offended against her *Canons*. The *Canons* in themselves doe protest as much; there being many *casus reservati*, as before wee sayd, expressed particularly in those *Lawes* and *Constitutions*, which have beeene made about the keeping of this day, and the other festivalls; wherein a dispensation lyeth, if wee disobey them. Many of these wee specified in the former Ages; and some occurre in these whereof now we write. It pleased Pope *Gregory* the ninth, Anno 1228, to inhibit all contentious suites on the *Lords day* and the other festivalls; and to inhibit them so farre, that judgement given on any of them, shuld be counted voyde, *Etiam consentientibus partibus*, althoogh both parties were consenting. Yet was it with this clause, or reservation, *nisi vel necessitas urgeat vel pietas suadat*, unlesse necessity inforced, or piety perswaded that it should be done. So in a Synod holden in *Valladolit* [apud vallem Oleti] in the parts of *Spaine*, Anno 1322. a generall restraint was ratified that had beeene formerly in force, *quod nullus in diebus dominicis & festiis, agros colere andeat, aut manualia artificia exercere prestat*; that none should henceforth follow husbandry, or exercise himself in mechanick trades upon the *Lords day* or the other holy dayes: Yet was it with the same *Proviso, nisi urgente necessitate*,

Decretal. l. 2.
tit de feriis.
cap. 5.

Concil. Sabi-
nens de feriis.

necessitate, vel evidenter pietatis causa, unlesse upon necessity, or apparent piety or charity: in each of which he might have licence from the *Priest*, his owne *Parish-Priest*, to attend his busynesse. Where still observe that the restraint was no lesse peremptory on the other holy dayes, then on the *Lords day*.

(3) Thete holy dayes, as they were named particularly in Pope *Gregories* decretall; so was a perfect list made of them in the *Synod of Lyons*, Anno 1244. which being celebrated with a great concourse of people, from all parts of *Christendome*, the *Canons* and decrees thereof, began forthwith to finde a generall admittance. The holy dayes allowed of there, were these that follow, viz. the feast of *Christs nativity*, *aint Stephen*, *S. John the Evangelist*, the *Innocents*, *S. Silvester*, the *Circumcision* of our Lord, the *Epiphanie*, *Easter*, together with the weeke precedent, and the weeke succeeding, the three dayes in *Rogation weeke*, the day of *Christs ascension*, *Whitsunday*, with the two dayes after, *S. John the Baptist*, the feasts of all the twelve *Apostles*, all the festivities of our *Lady*, *S. Lawrence*, all the *Lords dayes* in the years, *S. Michael the Archangell*, *All Saints*, *S. Martins*, the *Wakes* or dedication of particular Churches, together with the feasts of such *topicall* or *locall* *Saints* which some particular people had beeene pleased to honour, with a day particular amongst themselves. On these and every one of them, the people were restrained, as before was sayd, from many severall kinds of worke, on paine of *ecclesiasticall censures* to be layd on them, which did offend: unlesse on some emergent causes, either of *charity* or *necessity*, they were dispensed with for so doing. In other of the festivalls which had not yet attained to so great an heighth, the Councell thought not fit perhaps by reason of their numbers, that men should be restrained from labour; as neyther that they should be incouraged to it, but left them to themselves, to beelow those times, as might stand best with their affaires, and the

De consecrat.
distinct. 3. c. 1.

Common wealth. For so the Synod did determine, *Reliquis festivitatibus que per annum sunt, non esse plenam cogendam ad feriandum, sed nec prohibendam.* And in this state things stood a long time together, there being none that proferd opposition, in reference to these restraints from labour on the greater festivalls; though some there were, that thought the festivalls too many, on which those burden of restraints had unadvisedly beene imposed on the common people. *Nicholas de Clemangis*, complained much as of some other abuses in the Church, so of the multitude of *holy dayes*, which had of late times beene brought into it. And *Pet. de Aliaco Cardinall of Cambray*, in a discourse by him exhibited to the Councell of *Constance*, made publick suite unto the *Fathers* there assembled, that there might a stop in that kind, hereafter: as also that excepting *Sundayes* and the greater festivalls, *liceret operari post auditum officium*, it might bee lawfull for the people, after the end of Divine Service, to attend their busineses: the poore especially having little time enough on the working dayes, *ad vitæ necessaria procuranda*, to get their livings. But these were onely the expressions of well-wishing men. The Popes were otherwise resolved, and did not onely keepe the *holy dayes*, which they found established, in the same state in which they found them; but added others daily, as they saw occasion. At last it came unto that passe, by reason of that rigorous and exact kind of rest, which by the Canon Law had beene fastned on them, that both the *Lords day* and the other festivalls were accounted *holy*, not in relation to the use made of them, or to the *holy actions* done on them, in the honour of *God*: but in and of themselves considered, they were avowed to bee *vere alijs sanctiores*, truely and properly invested with a greater sanctity then the other dayes. Yea so farre did they goe at last, that it is publickly maintained in the *Schooles of Rome*, *non sublatam esse, sed matatam tantum* [*in novo Testamento*] significatiōnem

Ap. Hoppi.
cap. 4. de fest.
christi.

Bellar. de
cultu S. t. 3.
c. 10.

onem discretionem dierum: that the difference of dayes and times, and the mysterious significations of the same, which had before beeene used in the *Jerish Church*; was not abolished, but onely changed in the Church of Christ. *Aquinas* did first leade this dance, in fitting every *legall festivall*, with some that were observed in the Christian Church; laying this ground, that ours succeeded in the place of theirs. *Sabbatum mutatur in diem dominicum*; *similiter alijs solennitatibus veteris legis, novæ solennitates succedunt*: as his words there are. Vpon which ground of his, the doctrines now remembred were, no question, raised: and howsoever other men might thinke all dayes alike in themselves considered; yet those of *Rome* will have some holier than the rest, even by a naturall and inherent holiness.

(4) And in this state things stood, both for the doctrine and the practise, untill such time as men began to looke into the errours and abuses in the Church of *Rome*, with a more serious eye then before they did: the *Canonists* being no lesse nice, in the point of practise; then were the *Schoolemen* and the rest exhorbitant in the point of doctrine. Whose niceties, especially in matter of restraint, we have most fully represented to us by *Testatus*: *In Exod. I 20.* one that had runne through all the parts of learning at that time on foote, and was as well studiēd in the *Canon*, as in the *Schooles*. He then determineth of it thus. *Itinerando pro negotijs peccatum esse mortale, &c.* Hee that doth travaile on the *holy dayes* (for in that generall name the *Lords day* and the other festivalls are comprehended) about worldly businesse, commits *mortal sinne*; as also if he Trade or Traffick in the place wherein he liveth. But this hath two exceptions, or reservations: First if the businesse by him done bee but small and light, *que quietem Sabbati non impediunt*, such as are no great hinderance to the *Sabbaths rest*; and secondly, *nisi hoc sit in causa pia*, unlesse it were on some devout and pious purpose,

1. 24. qu. 103.
Art. 3. ad 4.

Qu.39.

Qu.41.

Qu.42:

port such men, in their boates or wherries, as did begin their journey on an *holy day*, unlesse they went to *Mise*, or on such occasions: but such as had begunne their journey, and now were in pursuite thereof, might be ferried over, *quia forte carebunt victu*, because they may perhaps want victuals if they doe not passe. To *repaire Churches* on the *Lords day* and the other *holy dayes*, was accounted lawfull; in case the workemen did it *gratis*, and that the Church were *poore*, not able to hire workmen on the other dayes: not if the Church were *rich* and in *case* to doe it. So also to build bridges, repaire the walls of Townes and Castles, or other publicke edifices, on those dayes, was not held unlawfull; *si infest hostes*, in case the enemie bee at hand: though otherwise not to be done, where no danger was. These are the speciall points obserued and published by *Tostatus*. And these I have the rather exactly noted, partly that wee may see in what estate the *Lords day* and the other *holy dayes*, were in the Church of *Rome*, what time the *reformation of religion* was first set on foote: but principally to let others see, how neere they come in their new fancies and devises, unto the niceties of those men whom they most abhorre.

(5) Thus stood it, as before I sayd, both for the *doctrine* and the *practise*, till men began to looke into the errors and abuses in the *Roman Church*, with a more serious eye than before they did: and at first sight, they found what little pleased them, in this particular. Their doctrine pleased them not, in making one day holier than another, not onely in relation to the use made of them, but to a naturall and *inherent holiness*, where-with they thought they were invested. Nor did their *practise* please much more, in that they had imposed so many burdens of *restraint*, upon the consciences of Gods people; and thereby made that day a *punishment*, which was intended for the *ease*, of the labouring man. Against the *doctrine* of these men, and the whole *practise*

practise of that Church, *Calvin* declareth himselfe in his booke of *Institutions*, And therewith taxeth those of *Rome*, qui *Judaica opinione populum superioribus seculis 1.2 cap.8.p.34.* imbuerunt, who in the times before possessed the people mindes with so much *Judaisme*; that they had changed the day indeed, as indishonour of the *Ier*, but otherwise retained the former sanctity thereof; which needes must bee, saith he, if there remaine with us, (as the *Papists* taught) the same opinion of the mysteries and various signifikations of dayes and times, which the *Iewes* once had. And certaintly, saith hee, we see what dangerous effects have followed, on so false a doctrine: those which adhere to their instructions, having exceedingly out gone the *Iewes*, crassa carnalique *Sabbatismi superstitione*, in their grosse and carnall superstitions, about the *Sabbath*. *Beza* his *Scholler* and *Acates*, sings the selfe same song, that howsoeuer the assemblies of the *Lords day* were of *Apostolicall* and *divine tradition*: *sic tamen ut Iudaica cessatio ab omni opere non observaretur, quoniam hoc plene fuisse judaismum non abolere, sed tantum, quod ad diem attinet, immutare*; yet so that there was no cessation from worke, required as was obserued among the *Iewes*. In *Apocal.1.10.* For that, saith he, had not so much abolished *Judaisme*, as put it off and changed it to another day. And then he addes, that this cessation was first brought in by *Constantine*, and afterwards confirmed with more and more restraints, by the following Emperours: by meanes of which it came to passe, that that which first was done for a good intent, viz. that men being free from their worldly busynesses, might wholly give themselves to hearing of the Word of God; in merum *Judaismum degenerarit*, degenerated at the last into downe-right *Judaisme*. So for the *Lutheran Churches*, *Chemnitius* chalengeth the *Romanists* of superstition, *quasi dominica diei & reliquis diebus festis, per se, peculiari quadam infit sanctitas*, because they taught

Qu. 26.

purpose. To reade unto, or teach a man, to deale in actions of the Law, or determine suites, or to cast accounts, *si quis doceret ut lucretur*, if it be done for hire, or for present gaine, become servile workes, and are forbidden: Otherwise, if one doe it *gratis*. If a Musitian waite upon a Gentleman, to recreate his minde with Musicke, and that they are agreed on a certaine wages; or that hee be hired onely for a present turne; he finnes, in case hee play, or sing unto him on the holy dayes: but not if his reward be doubtfull; and depends onely upon the boun-ty of the parties, who enjoy his musicke. A Cook that on the *holy dayes* is hired to make a feast, or to d esse a dinner, doth commit mortall sinne: *sed non pro toto mense aut anno*, but not if he be hired by the moneth, or by the yeare.

Qu. 28.

Meat may be dressed upon the *Lords day*, or the other *holy dayes*: but to wash dishes on those dayes, was esteemed unlawfull; *et differi in diem alteram*, and was to bee de-ferred till another day. Lawyers, that doe their clients businesse for their wonted fee, were not to draw their bills, or frame their answers, or peruse their evidences, on the *holy dayes*: *Secus si causam agerent pro miserabilibus personis, &c.* But it was otherwise, if they dealt for poore indigent people, such as did sue in *forma pauperis*, as we call it; or in the causes of a Church, or hospitall, in which the Popes had pleased to grant a dispensation.

Qu. 29.

A man that travailed on the *holy dayes*, to any speciall *shrine or Saint*, did commit no sinne. *Si autem in redundo, peccatum est mortale*; but if he did the like in his com-ming backe, he then sinned mortally. In any place where formerly it had beeene the custome, neither to draw wa-ter, nor to sweep the house, but to have those things ready on the day before; the custome was to bee ob-served; where no such custome is, there they may bee done. Actions of a long continuance, if they were de-lightfull, or if one played three or foure houres toge-ther on a *Musicall instrument*; were not unlawfull on the

Qu. 34.

Qu. 35.

the *holy dayes*: yet possibly they might be sinfull, *ut si quis huic ageret ex lascivia*, as if one played onely out of wan-tonnesse, or otherwise were so intent upon his musicke, that he went not to *Masse*. Fritifers which worke on the *holy dayes* for their owne profit onely, are in mortall sinne; unlesse the worke be very small: *quia medicum non facit solennitatem dissolui*, because a little thing disho-nours not the Festival: *De minimis non curat lex*, as our say-ing is. Contrary *Butchers, Vintners, Bakers, Coster-mon-gers*, sinned not in selling their commodities; because more profit doth redound to the Common wealth, which cannot be without such commodities, than to them that sell; yet this extended not to *Drapers, Shoemakers*, or the like, because there is not such a present necessity for cloathes, as meate. Yet where the custome was, that *Butchers* did not sell on the *holy dayes*, but specially not upon the *Lords day*; that commendable custome was to be ob-served: though in those places alio, it was per-mitted to the *Butcher*, that on those dayes, at some con-venient times thereof, hee might make ready what was to be sold on the morrow after, as kill and skinne his bestiall which were fit for sale; in case he could not doe it with so much convenience [*non ita congrue*] at ano-ther time. To write out or transcribe a booke, though for a mans owne private use, was esteemed unlawfull, except it were exceeding small; because this put no dif-ference betweene the *holy dayes* and the other: yet was it not unlawfull neither, in case the Argument were spirituall, nor for a *preacher* to write out his *sermons*, or for a *Student* to provide his *lecture* for the day following. *Windmils* were suffered to be used on the *holy dayes*, not *Watermils*: because the first required lesse labour and attendance, than the other did. This is the reason in *Tostatus*, though I can see no reason in it: the paslage of the water being once let runne, being of more certainty and continuance, then the changeable blowing of the winde. But to proceed, *Ferry-men* were not to trans-port

Qu. 36.

Qu. 37.

Qu. 38.

Qu.39.

port such men, in their boates or wherries, as did begin their journey on an *holy day*, un'esse they went to *Muse*, or on such occasions: but such as had begunne their journey, and now were in pursuite thereof, might be ferried over, *quia forte carebunt vietu*, because they may perhaps want victuals if they doe not passe. To *repaire Churches on the Lords day and the other holy dayes*, was accounted lawfull; in case the workemen did it *gratis*, and that the Church were *poore*, not able to hire workmen on the other dayes: not if the Church were rich and in case to doe it. So also to build bridges, repaire the walls of Townes and Castles, or other publicke edifices, on those dayes, was not held unlawfull; *si infest hostes*, in case the enemie bee at hand: though otherwise not to be done, where no danger was. These are the speciall points observed and published by *Tustatus*: And these I have the rather exactly noted, partly that wee may see in what estate the *Lords day* and the other *holy dayes*, were in the Church of *Rome*, what time the *reformation of religion* was first set on foote: but principally to let others see, how neere they come in their new fancies and devises, unto the niceties of those men whom they most abhorre.

(5) Thus stood it, as before I sayd, both for the *doctrine* and the *practise*, till men began to looke into the errors and abuses in the *Roman Church*, with a more serious eye than before they did: and at first sight, they found what little pleased them, in this particular. Their *doctrine* pleased them not, in making one day holier than another, not onely in relation to the use made of them, but to a naturall and *inherent holiness*, wherewith they thought they were invested. Nor did their *practise* please much more, in that they had imposed so many burdens of *restraint*, upon the consciences of Gods people; and thereby made that day a *punishment*, which was intended for the *ease*, of the labouring man. Against the *doctrine* of these men, and the whole *practise*

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In *Apocal.1.*
v. 10.

In Mat. 12.

Cap. 24.

taught the people that the *holy dayes*, considered onely in themselves, had a *native sanctitie*. And howsoever for his part, hee thinke it requisite, that men should be restrained from all such workes, as may bee any hindrance unto the sanctifying of the day: yet he accounts it but a part of the *Jewish leaven*; *nimirim scrupulose diebus festis prohibere operas externas, quæ vel quando, non impedit publicum ministerium*; so scrupulously to prohibit such externall Actions which are at all no hindrance to Gods publicke service, and mans *Sabbath* duties. *Bucer* goes further yet, and doth not onely call it a *superstition*, but an *apostasie* from Christ, to thinke that working on the *Lords day*, in it selfe considered, is a sinnefull thing. *Si existimetur operari in eo die, per se, esse peccatum, supersticio, & gratia Christi, qui ab elemenis mundi nos suo sanguine liberavit, negatio est*: as his owne words are. Then addes, that he did very well approve of the *Lords day* meetings, *si eximatur e cordibus hominum opinio necessitatis*, if men were once dispossessed of these opinions, that the day was necessary to be kept, that it was holier in it selfe then the other dayes, and that to worke upon that day, in it selfe, was sinnefull. Lastly, the Churches of the *Switzers* profess in their Confession, that in the keeping of the *Lords day*, they give not the least hint to any *Jewish superstitions*. *Neque enim alteram diem altera sanctiorem esse credimus, nec otium deo, per se, probari existimamus*. For neither, (as they sayd) doe we conceive one day to be more holy than another; or thinke that rest from labour, in it selfe considered, is any way pleasing unto God. By which we plainly may perceive, what is the judgement of *Protestant Churches* in the present point.

(6) Indeede it is not to be thought, that they could otherwise resolve and determine of it: considering what their doctrine is of the day it selfe: how different they make it from a *Sabbath day*, which doctrine that wee may perceive with the greater easie, we will consider it in

in three propositions, in which most agree: 1. That the keeping holy one day of seven, is not the *Morall part* of the fourth Commandement, or to be reckoned as a part of the law of nature; 2. That the *Lords day* is not founded on *Divine Commandement*, but onely on the authority of the *Church*; and 3. That the *Church* hath still authority to change the day, and to transferre it to some other. First for the first, it seeines that some of *Rome*, considering the restraints before remembred, and the new doctrine thence arising, about the *naturall and inherent holiness* which one day had above another; had altered what was formerly delivered amongst the *Schoolemen*, and made the keeping of one day, in *seven* to bee the *Morall part* of the fourth Commandement. This *Calvin* chargeth them withall that they had taught the people in the former times, that whatsover was *ceremoniall* in the fourth Commandement, which was the keeping of the *Jewes* seventh day, had beene long since abrogated: *remanere vero quod morale est, nempe unius diei observationem in hebdomade*, but that the *morall part* thereof which was the keeping of one day in seven, did continue still. With what else is it, as before was sayd, then in dishonour of the *Jewes*, to change the day; and to affixe as great a sanctity thereunto, as the *Jewes* ever did. And for his owne part he professeth, that howsoever he approved of the *Lords day* meetings, *Non tamen numerum septennarium ita se morari, ut ejus servituti ecclesiæ astringeret*; yet stood not he so much for the number of *seven*, as to confine the *Church* unto it. If *Calvin* elsewhere be of another minde, and speake of keeping holy one day in *seven* as a matter necessary; (which some say he doth) either they must accuse him of much inconstancy and forgetfulness; or else interpret him, with *Ryvell*, as speaking *in decalog*, of an *ecclesiastical custome*, not to be neglected, *non de necessitate legis divinae*, and not of any obligation layed upon us by the law of God. Neither is he the onely one that hath so determined. *Simler* hath sayd it more expressely.

Quod

Instit. 1.2. cap. 8. 11. 34.

in Exod. 20.

Loc. 55.

Cap. 5. n. 8.

in Exod. 20.
p. 190.In Examin.
Conc Tred.

Quod dīs una cultus divino consecratur, ex lege natura est; quod autem hac sit septima, non octava, nona aut decima, iuris est divini, sed ceremonialis: That one day should be set apart for Gods publicke worship, is the law of nature, but that this day should bee the seventh, and not the eighth, ninth, or tenth, was of divine appointment, but as ceremoniall. *Arctius* also in his common places distinguished betweene the substance of the Sabbath, and the time thereof: the substance of it, which was rest, and the workes of piety, being in all times to continue; *tempus autem ut septimo die obseretur, hoc non fuit necessarium in ecclesia Christi*, but for the time, to keepe it on the seventh day alwayes, that was not necessary in the Church of Christ. So also *Frankisc. Gomarus*, that great undertaker against *Arminius*, in a booke written purposely de origine & institutione *Sabbati*, affirms for certaine, that it can neither be made good by the law of nature, or text of Scripture, or any solid argument drawne from thence, *unum ex septem diebus ex vi præcepti quarti ad cultum dei necessario observandum*, that by the fourt' Commandement, one day in seven, is of necessity to be dedicated to Gods service. And *Ryvet*, as profest an enemy of the *Remonstrants*, though for the antiquity of the Sabbath, he differeth from the sayd *Gomarus*; yet hee agreeth with him in this: not onely making the obseruance of one day in seven, to be merely positive, as in our first part we obserued; but layes it downe for the received opinion of most of the *Reformed Divines*, *unum ex septem diebus, non esse necessario eligendum, ex vi præcepti, ad sacros conventus celebrandos*; the very same with what *Gomarus* affirmed before. So lastly for the *Lutheran Churches*, *Chemnitius* makes it part of our Christian liberty, *quod nec sint alligati nec debeant alligari ad certorum vel dierum vel temporum obseruationes, opinione necessitatis, in Novo Testamento, &c.* That men are neither bound, nor ought to bee, unto the obseruation of any dayes, or times, as matters necessary, under the *Gospel* of

Medulli theol.
1.3.15.

of our Saviour: though otherwise he account it for a barbarous folly, not to obserue that day with all due solemnite, which hath for so long time beene kept by the Church of God. Therefore in his opinion also, the keeping of one day in seven, is neither any *morall* part of the fourth Commandement, or parcell of the law of nature. As for the subtle shift of *Amesius* finding, that keeping Holy of one day in seven is positive indeed, *sed immutabilis plane institutionis*, but such a positive Law as is absolutely immutable; & doth as much oblige, as those which in themselves are plainly *naturall* and *morall*: it may then serve, when there is nothing else to helpe us. For that a positive law should be immutable in it selfe; and in its owne nature, be as universally binding, as the *morall law*; is such a peice of learning, and of contradiction, as never was put up to shew, in these latter times. But hee had learnt his lury in *England*, here; and durst not broach it but by halues, amongst the *Hollanders*.

(7) For the next Thesis, that the *Lords day* is not founded on divine Commandement, but the authoritie of the Church: it is a point so universally resolved on, as no one thing more. and first we will begin with *Calvin*, who telles us how it was not without good reason, that those of old, appointed the *Lords Day* as we call it, to supply the place of the *Iewish Sabbath*. *Non sine delectu, dominicum, quem vocamus diem, veteres in locum sabbatis subrogant*, as his words there are. Where none, I hope will think, that hee would give our Saviour Christ or his Apostles such a short come off, as to include them in the name of *Veteres*, onely: which makes it plaine, that hee conceived it not to be their appointment. *Bucer* resolues the point more clearly, *communi christianorum consensu Dominicum diem publicis Ecclesie conventibus ac requisi*ti* publica, dicatum esse, ipso statim Apostolorum tempore: and* faith, that in the *Apostles times*, the *Lords day* by the common consent of Christian people, was dedicated unto

Institut. 1.2. c. 8.
1.3. 3.

In Math. 1.2.

In Gen. 2.

publick rest, and the assemblies of the Church. And Peter *Martyr*, upon a question asked, why the old seventh day was not kept in the Christian Church; makes answer, that upon that day, and on all the rest, wee ought to rest from our owne works, the works of sinne. *Sed quod is magis quam illuc, eligatur ad easternum Dicitur, liberum fuit Ecclesia per Christum, ut id consuleret quod ex remagno judicaret: nec illa peccatae judicavit, &c.* That this was rather chose then that for Gods publick service, that faith he, Christ left totally unto the liberty of the Church, to do therein what should seeme most expedient: and that the Church did very well, in that she did preferre the memory of the resurrection, before the memory of the creation. These two I have the rather thus joyned together, as being sent for into England in King Edwards time, and placed by the Protector in our Universities, the better to establish reformation, at that time begun: and doubt we not, but that they taught the selfsame doctrine (if at the least they touched at all upon that point) with that now extant in their writings, at the same time with the liued *Buttinger* & *Gualter*, two great learned men. Of these, the first informes us, *hunc diem, id est sabbati in memoriam regnantis Domini delegissa fuit Ecclesia*, that in memoriall of our Saviours resurrection, the Churches set apart this day in the Sabbath stede, whereon to hold their solemn and religious meetings. And after, Spontem receperunt Ecclesia illam diem, non legitima cum utili praeceptam, sicut of their own accord, and by their own authoritie, the Church made chiefe thereof for the use aforesaid: it being no where to be found, that it was commanded. *Gualter*, more generally, that the Christians first assembled on the Sabbath day, as being then most famous, and so most in use: but when the Churches were augmented, proximus a sabbato dies saceris destinatus, the next day after the Sabbath was designed to those holy uses. If not before, then certainly not so commanded by

Apoc. 1.10.

In Act. 20.

In Gen.

In Theb. p. 733.

Def. Bis Chr: p. 24.

In 4. praepr.

by our Saviour Christ: and if designed onely, then not enjoyned by the Apostles. Yea *Beza* though herein hee differ from his Master, *Calvin*, and makes the Lords day meetings to be *Apostolice & vera divine traditionis*, to be indeed of *Apostolicall* and divine tradition: yet being a tradition onely although *Apostolicall*, it is no commandement. And more then that, he tells us in another place, that from Saint *Pauls* preaching at *Troas*, and from the Text. 1. Corinth. 16. 2. *non in epite colligunt*, it may be gathered not unfitly, that then the *Christians* were accustomed to meete that day, the ceremony of the *Jewish Sabbath* beginning by degrees to vanish. But sure the custome of the people makes no divine traditions; and such conclusions, as not unfitly may be gathered from the Text, are not Text it selfe. Others there be, who attribute the changing of the day, to the Apostles; not to their precept, but their practise. So *Merter*, *Apostoli, in Dominicum converterunt*, the Apostles changed the Sabbath to the Lords day: in Gen. 2. *Parsons* attributes the same *Apostolice Ecclesia* unto the *Apostolical Church*, or Church in the Apostles time: *quonodo autem facta sit hec mutatio in sacris literis expressum non habemus*; but how, by what authoritie such a change was made, is not delivered in the Scripture. And *John Cuchlinus* though hee call it an *consuetudinem Apostolicam* an *Apostolical custome*; yet hee is peremptory that the Apostles gave no such *Commandement*; *Apostolos praeceptum reliquissime constanter negamus*. So *Simler* calls it onely *consuetudinem tempore Apostolorum receptionis*; a custome taken up in the Apostles time. And so *Hospinianus*, although saith hee, it be apparent that the Lords day was celebrated in the place of the *Jewish Sabbath*, even in the times of the Apostles: *non invenitur tamen vel Apostolos, vel alios, legi aliqua eis praecepto, observacionem ejus instituisse*; yet find we not that either they, or any other, did institute the keeping of the same, by any law or precept, but left it free. Thus *Zanchius, nullibis legimus Apostolos, &c.* we doe not read, saith hee, that the

Apostles commanded any to observe this day. Wee onely read what they and others did upon it; *liberum ergo reliquerunt*, which is an argument that they left it to the Churches power. To those addes *Ursin* in his exposition on the fourth Commandement, *liberum Ecclesia reliquit alios dies eligere*, and that the Church made choice of this, in honouer of our Saviours resurrection: *Arctius* in his *Common-places*, *Christianum Dominicum transstulerunt: Gomarus*, and *Ryvet*, in the Tracts before remembred. Both which have also there determined, that in the choosing of this day, the Church did exercise as well her *wisdom*, as her *freedome*: her *freedome*, being not obliged unto any day, by the Law of God; her *wisdom* ne *majori mutatione Iudeos offendere*, that by so small an alteration, she might the lesse offend the *Jewes*, who were then considerable. As for the *Lutheran* Divines it; it is affirmed by Doctour *Bound*, that for the most part they ascribe too much unto the liberty of the Church, in appointing dayes for the assembly of the people: which is plain confession. But for particulars, *Brentius*, as Doctour *Prideaux* tells us, calls it *civilem institutionem*, a *civil institution*, and no *commandement of the Gospell*; which is no more indeed, then what is elsewhere said by *Calvin*, when he accounts no otherwise thereof, then, *ut remedium retinendo ordinis necessarium*, as a fit way to retaine order in the Church. And sure I am *Chemnitius* tells us, that the Apostles did not impose the keeping of this day, as necessary upon the consciences of Gods people by any law or precept whatsoever: *sed libera fuit observatio ordinis gratia*, but that for orders sake, it had been voluntarily used amongst them, of their own accord.

(8) Thus have we proved that by the *Doctrine* of the *Protestants*, of what *side* soever, and those of greatest credit in their severall *Churches*, eighteene by name, and all the *Lutherans* in generall of the same opinion; that the *Lords Day* is of no other *institution* then the *authoritie* of the *Church*. Which proved, the last of the three *Theses*, that

that still the *Church* hath power to change the day, and to transferre it to some other; will follow of it selfe, on the former grounds: the *Protestant Doctours* before remembred, in saying that the *Church*, did institute the *Lords day*, as wee see they doe; confessing tacitely, that still the *Church* hath power to change it. Nor do they tacitely confess it, as if they were afraid to speake it out: but some of them in plaine termes affirme it, as a certaine truth. *Zwinglius*, the first reformation of the *Switzers*, hath resolved it so, in his Discourse against one *Valentine Gentilis*, a new *Arian* heretick. *Aude mi Valentine, quibus modis & rationibus*, *"sabbatum ceremoniale reddatur*. Harken now *Valentine* by what wayes and means, the *Sabbath* may be made a *ceremony*: if either we observe that day which the *Jewes* once did, or thinke the *Lords day* so affixed unto any time, *ut nefas sit illum in aliud tempus transferre* that wee conceive it an *impie*tie, it should be changed unto another; on which as well as upon that, we may not rest from labour, and harken to the *Word* of God, if perhaps such necessity should be: this would indeed make it become a *ceremony*. Nothing can be more plaine then this. Yet *Calvin* is as plain, when hee professeth, that hee regarded not to much the number of *seven*, *ut ejus servituti Ecclesiis astringeret*, as to enthrall the *Church* unto it. Sure I am, Doctour *Prideaux* reckoneth him, as one of them, who teach us that the *Church* hath power to change the day, and to transfer it to some other: and that *John Barclaie* makes report, how once *In Orat. de Sab.* hee had a Consultation, *de transferenda Dominica in feriam quintam*, of altering the *Lords day* unto the *Thursday*. *Bucer* affirmes as much, as touching the *authoritie*, and so doth *Bullinger*, and *Brentius*, *Ursino*, and *Chemnitius*, as Doctour *Prideaux* hath observed. Of *Bullinger*, *Bucer*, *Brentius*, I haue nought to say, because the places are not cited; but take it as I think I may upon his credit. But for *Chemnitius* he saith, often, that it is

Cap. 6. qu. 103.
S. 2.Dom. 17 post
Trinit.

Cap. 2.

libera observatio, a voluntarie oblleration ; that it is an especiall parte of out Christian libertie, not to be tyed to dayes and tyme, in matters which concerne Gods ser-
vice; and that the Apostles made it manifest by their ex-
ample, *Singulis diebus, vel quocunque die*, That every
day, or any day, may by the Church be set apart for reli-
gious exercises. And as for *Vrsine*, he makes this difference
betweene the *Lords day* and the *Sabbath*, that it was ut-
terly unlawfull to the *Iewes*, either to neglect or change
the *Sabbath*, without expresse Commandement from God
himselfe, as being a *ceremoniall* parte of *divine worship*:
but for the *Christian Church*, that may designe the *first*,
or *second*, or any other day to Gods publicke service.
*Ecclesia vero Christiana primum, vel alium diem, tribuit
ministerio, salva sua libertate, sine opinione cultus vel ne-
cessitatis* : as his words there are. To these adde
Dietericus a *Lutheran* Divine, who though he makes
the keeping of one day in *seven*, to be the *morall*
part of the fourth Commandement; yet for that day,
it may be *dies Sabbathi*, or *dies Solis*, or *quicunque alias*,
Sunday or *Saturday*, or any other, be it one in *seven*. And so
Hespinian is perswaded, *Dominicum diem mutare &
in alium transferre licet*, That if the occasions of the
Church do so require, the *Lords day* may be changed unto
any other: provided it be *one of seven*; and that the
change be so transacted, that it produce no scandall or
confusion in the *Church* of God. Nay by the doctrine of
the *Helvetian* Churches, if I conceive their meaning
rightly, every particular Church may destinate what
day they please, to religious meetings; and every day
may be a *Lords day*, or a *Sabbath*. For so they give it up
in their Confession, *Deligit ergo quavis Ecclesia sibi cer-
tum tempus ad preces publicas, & Evangelii predicationem*: though for
their parts, they kept that day, which had beeene set a-
part for those holy iles, even from the time of the *Apo-
stles*, yet so, that they conceived it free, to keepe the
Lords

Lords day, or the *Sabbath*: *Sed & Dominicum, non Sab-
batum, libera observatione, celebramus*. Some *Sectaries*,
since the *Reformation*, have gone further yet, and would
have had all dayes alike, as unto their use, all equally to
be regarded; and reckoned that the *Lords day* as the
Church continued it was a *Iewish ordinance*, thwarting
the doctrine of *Saint Paul*, who seemed to them to ab-
rogate that difference of dayes, which the Church re-
tained. This was the *fancie*, or the *frenzie* rather of the
Anabaptist, taking the hint perhaps from something,
which had beeene formerly delivered by some wiser men;
and after them, of the *Swinckfeldian*, and the *Familist*:
as in the times before, of the *Petro-Brusians*, and (if *Wal-
densis* wrong him not) of *Wiclef* alio.

(9) Such being the doctrine of those *Churches*, the
Protestant, and those of *Rome*, it is not to be thought but
that their *practise* is according: Both make the *Lords day*
onely an *Ecclesiasticall constitution*, and therefore keepe
it so farre forth, as by the *Canons* of their *Churches*, they
are enjoyed. These what they are at *Rome*, and those of
her obedience, we have seene already; and little hath
beene added since. It hath not beeene, of late, a time, to
make new restraints; rather to mitigate the old, to lay
downe such which were most burdensome, and grievous
to be borne withall. And so it seemes they do, *Azorius*
the *Iesuite* being more remisse in stating and determining
the restraints, imposed on the *Lords day*, and the other
holy dayes; then *Tostatus* was, who lived in safer times by
farre, then these now present: nor is their *discipline* so
severe, as their *Canon*, neither. So that the *Lords day*
there, for ought I could observe, when I was amongst
them, is solemnized much after the same manner as with
us in *England*: repairing to the *Church*, both at *Masse*
and *Vespers*, ryding abroad to take the ayre, or otherwise
to refresh themselves, and following their honest plea-
sures at such leisure times, as are not destinate to the pub-
licke

liche meetings ; the people not being barred from tra-
velling about their lawfull busynesse, as occasion is, to they
reserve some time for their devotions in the publicke.
Which is indeed agreeable to the most antient and most
laudable custome, in the Church of God. Now for the
Protestant Churches, the *Lutherans* do not differ much,
from that which we have said before of the *Church of
Rome*: and therefore there is nothing to be said of them.
But for the rest which follow *Calvin*, & think themselves
the only orthodox and reformed *Churches*; we will con-
sider them in three severall circumstances : first in the *ex-
ercise of religious duties*, secondly in *restraint from la-
bours*, and thirdly in *permission of recreations*. And first
for the *exercise of religious duties*, they use it in the *mor-
ning* onely: the *afternoone* being left at large, for any, and
for every man to dispose thereof, as to him seemes fitting.
So is it in the *Churches of high Germany*, those of the
Palatinate, and all the others of that mould. For I have
heard from Gent. of good repute, that at the first recep-
tion of the Ladie *Elizabeth* into that Countrey, on *Sun-
day* after *dinner*, the Coaches and the horses were
brought forth; and all the Princes Court, betooke them-
selves unto their pleasures, *hunting* or *hawking*, as the sea-
son of the yeare was fit for either. Which when it seemed
strange at first to those *English* Lords and Gentlemen,
which did attend the *Princess* thither: answere was made,
it was their custome so to do, and that they had no *Eve-
ning-service*, but ended all the duties of the day with the
Morning sermon. Nor is this custome onely, and no more
but so. There is a *Canon* for it in some places, it must be
no otherwile. For in the first Councell of *Dort*, Ann.
1574, it was decreeed, *Publica vespertina preces non sunt
introducenda, ubi non sunt introducere; ubi sunt, tollantur*:
that in such *Churches* where publicke Evening Prayer
had not beeene admitted, it should continue as it was;
and where they were admitted, they should bee put
downe.

Art. 46.

downe. So Doctor *Smith* relates the *Canon* (if so irregu-
lar a decree may deserve that name) in his *Collat. doctr.
Cathol. & protest.* cap. 68. Art. 1. And so it stood till
the last *Synod of Dort*, Ann. 1618. what time, to raise
the reputation of the *Palatine Catechisme*, being not
long alter to be admitted into their *Canon*, it was con-
cluded, that *Catechisme-lectures* should be read each
Sunday in the *afternoone*; nor to be layed aside propter *au-
ditorum infrequentiam*, for want of *Auditors*. Now to al-
lure the people thither, being before staved off by a for-
mer *Synod*, it was provided that their *Ministers* should
reade howsoever, *Coram paucis auditoribus, immo vel
coram suis famulis tantum*, Though few were present, or
none but their domesticke servants; in hope by little and
little to attract the people. And secondly it was resolved
on, to implore the *Civil Magistrate*, *Vt opera omnia ser-
vilia, seu quotidiana, &c. quibus tempus pomeridianum
diebus Dominis maxime in pagis, plerunque transi-
soleret*, that by their *Edicts* they would restraine all *ser-
vile works*, the works of ordinary dayes, and especially,
games, drinking-matches, and other profanations of the
Sabbath, wherewith the *afternoone* or *Sundays*, chiefly
in smaller Townes and Villages, had before beeene spent;
that so the people might repaire to the *catechizing*. By
which we also may perceive, that there was no restraint,
on *Sundays* in the *afternoone*, from any kinde of *seruile
works*, or daily labours, but that men might and did ap-
ply themselves to their severall busynesses, as on other
dayes. As for the greater Townes there is scarce any of
them wherein there are not Faires and Markets, *kirk-mas-
ses*, as they use to call them, upon the *Sunday*: and those
as much frequented in the *afternoone*, as were the
Churches in the *Forenoone*. A thing from which they
could not hold, not in *Dort* it selfe, what time the *Synod*
was assembled. Nor had it now beeene called upon, as it
is most likely, had not *Amesius*, and some others of our
English,

Sess. 14.

English Malecontents, scattered abroad Bounds principles amongst the *Netherlands*, which they had sowne before in *England*. And certainly they had made as strong a faction there before this time, their learned men beginning to bandie one against the other, in the debates about the *Sabbath*; but that the livelihood of the *States*, consisting most on trade and trafficke, cannot spare any day, *Sunday* no more then any other, from venting their commodities, and providing others. So that in generall, the *Lords day* is no other wise observed with them (though somewhat better then it was twelue yeares ago) then an halfe-holiday is with us: the morning though not all of that, unto the *Church*; the after-noone, to their *employments*. So for the *French* and *Germane Churches*, we may perceive by their *Divines*, *Calvin*, and *Baza*, and *Martin Bucer* who do so highly charge the *Romanist*, for the restraint of working on the *Lords day*; that they were well enough content to allow the same. And for the *Churches* of the *Switzers*, *Zuinglius* avoweth it to be lawfull, *Die Dominico peractis sacris laboribus incumbe*, On the *Lords day* after the end of *Divine Service*, for any man to follow and pursue his labours; as commonly we do, saith he, in the time of harvest. Indeed the *Polish Churches* formerly decreed in two severall *Synods*, the one at *Cracow* Ann. 1573, the other at *Petricow*, Ann. 1578. *Vt Domini in suis ditionibus prohibeant Dominicis diebus nundinas annuas & septimanales*, That *Lords of Mannours* (as we call them) should not permit on the *Lords day* either *Faires* or *Markets*, in any of the *Townes* unto them belonging: *Neque iisdem diebus colos suos ullos laboribus aut vecturis onerent*, nor on those dayes employ their *Tenants* in carriages, or such servile labours. But this was rather done to please the *Lutherans*, amongst whom; and those of the *Communion of the Church of Rome*, under whom they live: then out of any principle or example of those *Churches*, whom they

Resp. ad Val. Gentilem.

they chiefly followed. For recreations last of all, there is no question to be made, but that where working is permitted, and most kinde of busynesse, a man may lawfully enjoy himselfe and his honest pleasures; and without danger of offence, pursue thole pastimes, by which the minde may be refreshed, and the spirits quickened. Already have we told you what the custome is in the *Palatine Churches*. And for the *Belgicke*, besides it was before declared from the *Synod of Dore*, touching the usual spending of that day in *games* and *drinking matches*; their four great *Doctors*, *Polyander*, *Ryvet*, *Thysius*, and *Waleus*, make *recreation* to be part of the *Sabbaths rest*, *Et interfines Sabbathi esse*, and to be reckoned as a principall intent thereof. Even in *Geneva* it selte, the *mother Church* unto the rest, as *Robert Johnson* tells us in his enlargement of *Botorus*, All honest exercises, shooting in peeces, long-bowes, crosse-bowes, &c. are used on the *Sabbath day*, and that in the morning both before and after *Sermon*: neither do the *Ministers* finde fault therewith, so they hinder not from hearing of the *Word* at the time appointed. Indeed there is no reason why they should finde fault, the *practise* so directly rising upon their *principles*.

(10) *Dancing* indeed they do not suffer, either in *Geneva*, or the *French Churches* (though not prohibited for ought I can learne, in either *Germany*, or any of the *Lutheran* *kingdomes*;) but this not in *relation* to the *day*, but the *sport* it selfe, which absolutely they have forbidden on all dayes whatever. *Calvin* tooke great offence thereat: (of so austere a life would he have the people) and kept a great ado about it, in *Geneva*, when he lived amongst them: as hee doth thus relate the story to his friend *Farellus*, *Cornelius*, and *Perinus*, two of speciall power and qualitie in that *Citie*, together with one *Heinrichus* one of the *Elders* of the *Church*, a *Syndic* (which is one of the fourie chiefe Officers of the *Common*

Synops. theol.
disp. 2. n. 58.

Epist. ad Fare'.

mon-wealth) and some others of their friends, being merry at an *invitation*, fell to dancing. Notice hereof being given to *Calvin*, by some false brother, they were all called into the *Consistory*, excepting *Cornelius* and *Perrinus*: and being interrogated thereupon, *Impudenter Deo & nobis mentiti sunt*, they lyed, saith he, most impudently unto God and us. (Most Apostolically said). At that, saith he, I grew offended, as the indignity of the thing deserved: and they persisting in their contumacy, *Censuunt jure-jurando ad veri confessio-nem adigerentur*. I thought it fit to put them to their oaths about it. So said, so done; and they not onely did confess their former *dancing*, but that that very day, they had beeene dancing in the house of one *Balthasar* widdow. On this confession he proceeded unto the censure, which certainly was sharpe enough for so small a fault (for a fault it was, it he would have it): the *Syndick* being displaced, the *Elder* turned out of his office, *Perryn* and his wife both clapt in prison, and all the rest, *prudore confusi*, put to open shame. This was in Ann. 1546. And afterwards, considering how much he disliked it, their Ministers and Preachers cryed downe *dancing* as a most *sinfull* and *unchristian pastime*, and published divers tracts against it. At last in Ann. 1571. it was concluded in a *Synod* held at *Rochel*, and made to be a part of their *publicke discipline*; viz. that *All congregations should be admonished by their Ministers seriously to reprehend and suppress all dances, mummeries, and enterludes: as also that all dancing-masters, or those who make any dancing meetings, after they have beeene oft admonished to desist, ought to be excommunicate for that their contumacie, and disobedience*. Which rigidnesse of theirs, as it is conceived, considering how the *French* do delight in *dancing*, hath beeene no small impediment unto the generall entertainment of the *reformed Religion* in that kingdoine. So great is their delight therein, and with such eagernesse they pursue it, when they are at leisure

from

Dallington
view of Fr.

from their busynesse; that as it seemes, they do neglect the Church on the *holidayes*, that they may have the more time to attend their *dancing*. Vpon which ground, it was, and not that *dancing* was conceived to be no *lawfull sport* for the *Lords day*, that in the *Council* of *Sens*, Ann. 1524. in that of *Paris*, Ann. 1557. in those of *Rhemes*, and *Touts*, Ann. 1583. and finally in that of *Bourges*, Ann. 1584. *dancing on Sundayes*, and the other *holy dayes* hath beeene prohibited: prohibited indeed, but practised by the people, notwithstanding all their *Canons*. But this concernes the *French* and their *Churches* onely. our *Northerne Nations* not being so bent upon the *sport*: as to need restraint. Only the *Polish Churches* did conclude, in the *Synod* of *Petricow* before remembred, that *Taverne-meetings, drinking-matches, dice, cards, and such like pastimes, as also musicall instruments and dances* should on the *Lords day* be forbidden. But then it followeth with this clause, *Præterim eo temporis momento quo concio & cultus divinus in templo peragitur*, especially at that instant time, when men should be at Church to heare the *Sermon*, and attend Gods worship. Which clearly shews that they prohibited *dancing*, and the other *pastimes* then recited, no otherwise then as they were a meanes, to keepe men from *Church*. Probably also they might be induced unto it by such *French Protestants*, as came into that countrey with the *Duke of Anjou*, when he was chosen King of *Poland*, Ann. 1574, which was foure yeares before this *Council*.

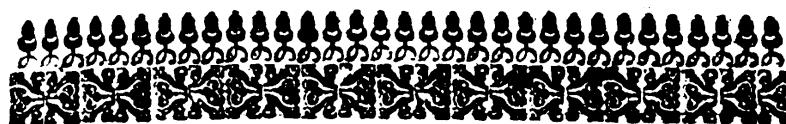
(11) As for the *Churches of the East*, being now heavily oppressed with *Turkish bondage*, we have not very much to say. Yet by that little which wee finde thereof, it seemes the *Lords day* keeps that honour which before it had; and that the *Saturday* continues in the same regard, wherein once it was: both of them counted dayes of *feasting*, and both retained for the assemblies of the *Church*. First that they are both dayes of *feasting*, or at the least exempted from their *publicke Fasts*, appears by

by that which is related by Christopher Angelo, a Gracian whom I knew in Oxford, τῇ δὲ μέρᾳ τῇ Κρόνῳ, καὶ τῇ μέρᾳ τῇ ἡλίῳ πάτις καλεῖται κυριακὴ εὐαγγελίου, πίνει δὲ διόροι that on the *Saturday* and *Sunday*, which wee call the *Lord day*, they do both eat oile and drinke wine, even in Lent it selfe; whereas on other dayes they feed on pulse, and drink onely water. Then that they both are still retained for the assemblies of the Church, with other *Holy dayes*, hee tells us in another place: where it is laid, εἰ ταῖς κυριακαῖς, εἰ ἐνδεκατῇ μέρᾳ τῇ Κρόνῳ, καὶ εἰ ταῖς λοιμαῖς, εἰ πρωτῇ τῇ ἑρακλεῖ ὅλῃ, τοῦτος ἐπίκεκριτος εἰσιθεστὸς ὁ Ἐλλήνες παρεύσαται εἰς τὴν εὐαγγελίαν, &c. that for the *Lords day*, and the *Saturday*, and the other *Festivals*, they use to goe unto the Church on the Eve before, and almost at midnight; where they continue till the breaking up of the Congregation. For the *Egyptian Christians*, or *Cophties*, as we call them now, it is related by G. Sandys, that on the *Saturday* presently after midnight, they repaire unto their *Churches*, where they remayne well nigh untill *Sunday* at noone; during which time, they neither sit nor kneele, but support themselues on *Crutches*: and that they sing over the most part of *Davids Psalmes* at every meeting, with divers parcels of the old & new *Testament*. He hath informed us also of the *Armenians*, another sort of *Eastern Christians*, that comming into the place of the Assembly on *Sunday* the afternoon, he found one sitting in the middest of the Congregation, in habit not differing from the rest, reading on a *Bible* in the *Chaldean* tongue: that anon after came the *Bishop* in an hood or vest of black, with a stiffe in his hand; that first he prayed, and then sung certaine *Psalmes* assisted by two or three; after, all of them singing joyntly, at *interims* praying to themselues; the *Bishop* all this while with his hands erected, and face towards the *Altar*: That *service* being ended, they all kissed his hand, and bestowed their *Almes*, he laying his other hand on their heads and blessing them;

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“ finally that bidding the succeding *Fasts* & *Festivals* he dismissed the assembly. The *Muscovites*, being near unto the *Greeks*, once within the jurisdiction of the Patriark of Constantinople, partake much also of their customes. They count it an unlawfull thing to fast the *Saturday*, which shewes that somewhat is remayning of that esteeme, in which once they had it: and for the *Holydayes*, *Sundayes* aswell as any other, they doe not hold themselves so strictly to them, but that the *Citizens* and *Artificers*, immediately after *Divine Service* betake themselves unto their labours, and domestike busynesses. And this, most probably, is the custome also of all the *Churches* of the *East*; as holding a *Communion* with the *Church of Greece*, though not subordinate theretherto: from the which *Church of Greece*, the faith was first derived unto these *Muscovites*, as before was said; and with the faith, the observation of this day, and all the other *holydayes*, at that time in use. As for the *Country people*, as *Gagkinus* tells us, they seldomce celebrate or obserue any day at all, at leſt not with that care and order as they ought to doe; saying, that it belongs onely unto *Lords* and *Gentlemen* to keepe *Holydayes*. Last of all, for the *Habassines*, or *Ethiopian Christians*, though further off in situation; they come as neere unto the fashions of the ancient *Gracians*. Of them wee are enformed by Master *Brerewood* out of *Damiani*, that they reverence the *Sabbath*, keeping it solemnly equally with the *Lords day*. *Scaliger* tells us, that they call both of them by the name of *Sabbaths*; the one the first, the other the later *Sabbath*: or in their owne language, the one *Sanbath Sachristos*, that is, *Christ's Sabbath*; the other *Sanbath Iudi*, or the *Jewes Sabbath*. *Bellarmino* thinks that they derived this observation of the *Saturday* or *Sabbath*, from the *Constitutions* ascribed to *Clemens*: which indeed frequently doe pressē the obſervation of that day, with no leſſe fervour then the *Sunday*. Of this we have already ſpoken. And to this *Bellarmino* was

was induced the rather, because that in this Country they had found authority, and were esteemed as Apostolical, *et auctio Ethiopes hu Constitutionibus nisi, ut vere Apostolicis, & ex de causa in erroribus versari, circa cultum Sabbati, & diei Dominice.* But if this be an error in them, they have many partners; and those of ancient standing in the Church of God, as before was shewne. As for their service on the *Sunday*, they celebrate the Sacrament in the morning early, except it be in the time of *Lent*: when fasting all the day, they discharge that duty in the Evening, and then fall to meat; as the same *Scaliger* hath recorded. So having looked over all the residue of the *Christian World*, and found no *Sabbath* in the same, except onely nominall, and that aswell upon the *Saturday*, as upon the *Sunday*; it is now time, wee turned our course, and set saile for *England*: where we shall find as little of it as in other places, untill that forty yeares agoe, no more, some men began to introduce a *Sabbath* therewith, in hope thereby to countenance and advance their other projects.



C H A P. VII.

In what estate the *Lords-day* stood in this Isle of *Brittaine*, from the first planting of religion, to the reformation.

(1) What doth occurrre about the *Lords day*, and the other festivalls, amongst the *Churches of the Brittanis*. (2) Of the estate of the *Lords day*, and the other holy dayes in the *Saxon Heptarchie*. (3) The honours done unto the *Sunday* and the other holy dayes, by the *Saxon Monarchs*. (4) Of the publicke actions *Civill, Ecclesiasticall, mixt, and Military*, done on the *Lords day*, under the first six *Norman Kings*. (5) New *Sabbath* doctirines broached in *England* in *King Johns Reigne*; and the miraculons originall of the same. (6) The prosecution of the former story; and ill success therin of the undertakers. (7) Restraint of *Worldly businesse* on the *Lords day*, and the other holy dayes, admitted in those times, in *Scotland*. (8) Restraint of certaine servile works, on *Sundayes, holy dayes, and the wakes*, concluded in the *Councill of Oxon*, under *Henry 3.* (9) Husbandrie and Legall processe, prohibited on the *Lords day* first, in the *reigne of Edward 3.* (10) Selling of *Wools*, on the *Lords day* and the *solemne feasts*, forbidden first by the *said King Edward* as after, *faires and markets generally*, by *King Henry 6.* (11) The *Cordwainers of London*, restrained from selling their wares on the *Lords day*, and some other festivalls, by *King Edward the fourth*, and the repealing

was induced the rather, because that in this Country they had found authority, and were esteemed as Apostolical. *Audio Echiopes his Constitutionibus usi, ut vere Apostolicis, & ea de causa in erroribus versari, circa cultum Sabbati, & diei Dominicae.* But if this be an error in them, they have many partners; and those of ancient standing in the Church of God, as before was shewne. As for their service on the Sunday, they celebrate the Sacrament in the morning early, except it be in the time of Lent: when fasting all the day. *they discharge that duty in the Evening, and the same Scaliger hath recorded.*

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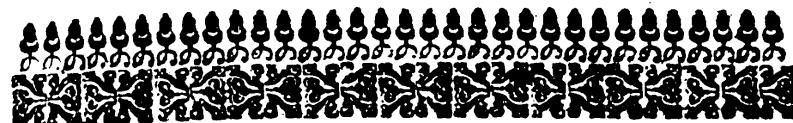


CHAP. VII.

In what estate the Lords-day stood in this Isle of Britaine, from the first planting of religion, to the reformation.

- (1) What doth occurre about the Lords day, and the other festivalls, amongst the Churches of the Britans.
- (2) Of the estate of the Lords day, and the other holy dayes in Saxon Heptarchie.
- (3) The honours done unto the day and the other holy dayes, by the Saxon Monarchs.
- (4) Of the publike actions Civill, Ecclesiasticall, mixt, and military, done on the Lords day, under the first six Norman Kings.
- (5) New Sabbath doctrines broached in England in King Johns Reigne; and the miraculons originall of the same.
- (6) The prosecution of the former story; and ill success therin of the undertakers.
- (7) Restraint of worldly businesse on the Lords day, and the other holy dayes, admitted in those times, in Scotland.
- (8) Restraint of certaine servile works, on Sundayes, holy dayes, and the wakes, concluded in the Councell of Oxon, under Henry 3.
- (9) Husbandrie and Legall processe, prohibited on the Lords day first, in the reigne of Edward 3.
- (10) Selling of Wools, on the Lords day and the solemn feasts, forbidden first by the said King Edward as after, faires and marketes generally, by King Henry 6.
- (11) The Cordwainers of London, restrained from selling their wares on the Lords day, and some other festivalls, by King Edward the fourth, and the repealing

was induced the rather, because that in this Country they had found authority, and were esteemed as Apostolical. *Audio Echioppe his Constitutionibus nis, ut vere Apostolicis, & ea de causa in erroribus versari, circa cultum Sabbati, & diei Dominice.* But if this be an error in them, they have many partners; and those of ancient standing in the Church of God, as before was shewne. As for their service on the *Sunday*, they celebrate the Sacrament in the morning early, except it be in the time of *Lent*: when fasting all the day, they discharge that duty in the Evening, and then fall to meat; as the same *Scaliger* hath recorded. So having looked over all the residue of the *Christian* World, and found no *Sabbath* in the same, except onely nominall, and that aswell upon the *Saturday*, as upon the *Sunday*; it is now time, wee turned our course, and set saile for *England*: where we shall find as little of it as in other places, untill that forty yeares agoe, no more, some men began to introduce a *Sabbath* therewerto, in hope thereby to countenance and advance their other projects.



CHAP. VII.

In what estate the *Lords-day* stood in this Isle of *Brittaine*, from the first planting of religion, to the reformation.

(1) What doth occurre about the *Lords day*, and the other festivalls, amongst the *Churches of the Brittans* (2) Of the estate of the *Lords day*, and the other holy dayes in the *Saxon Heptarchie*. (3) The honours done unto the *Sunday* and the other holy dayes, by the *Saxon Monarchs*. (4) Of the publike actions *Civill, Ecclesiasticall, mixt, and Military*, done on the *Lords day*, under the first six *Norman Kings*. (5) New *Sabbath* doctirines broached in *England* in *King Johns Reigne*; and the miraculons originall of the same. (6) The prosecution of the former story; and ill success therin of the undertakers. (7) Restraint of *Worldly businesse* on the *Lords day*, and the other holy dayes, admitted in these times, in *Scotland*. (8) Restraint of certaine servile works, on *Sundayes, holy dayes, and the wakes*, concluded in the *Councell of Oxon*, under *Henry 3.* (9) *Husbandrie and Legall processe*, prohibited on the *Lords day* first, in the *reigne of Edward 3.* (10) *Selling of Wools*, on the *Lords day and the solemn feasts*, forbidden first by the *said King Edward* as after, *faires and markets generally*, by *King Henry 6.* (11) *The Cordwainers of London*, restrained from *selling their wares on the Lords day*; and some other festivalls, by *King Edward the fourth*, and the repealing

ling of that *Act* by King Henry the eight. (12) In what estate the Lords day stood, both for the doctrine, and the practise, in the beginning of the reigne of the said King Henry.

(1)



ND now at last wee are for *England*, that we may see what hath beene done amongst our *States*, in this particular; and thereby bee the better lessoned, what wee are to doe. For as before

I noted, the *Canons* of particular *Churches*, and *edicts* of particular *princes*, though they sufficiently declare, both what their *practise* and *opinion* was, in the present point; yet are no *generall* rule, nor *prescript* to others, which lived not in the compasse of their *authority*. Nor can they further binde us, as was then obserued; then as they have beene since admitted into our *Church*, or *State*, either by adding them unto the body of our *Canon*, or imitating them in the composition of our *Acts* and *statutes*. Only the *Decretals* of the *Popes*, the body of their *Canon Law* is to bee excepted: which being made for the direction and reiglement of the *Church* in generall, were by degrees admitted, and obeyed, in these parts of *Christendome*; and are by *Act* of *Parliament* so farre still in force, as they oppose not the *prerogative* *royall*, or the *municipall laws* and *statutes* of this *Realme* of *England*. Now that wee may the better see, how it hath beene adjudged of here, and what hath beene decreed or done, touching the *Lords day* and the other *holy dayes*: wee will ascend as high as possiblie we can, even to the *Church* and *Empire* of the *Brittans*. Of them indeed wee finde not much, and that delivered in as little; it being said of them by *Beda*, that in the time of *Constantine* they did *dies festos* *celebrare*, observe those *holy dayes* which were then in use: which, as before we said, were *Easter*, *Whitsontide*, the feasts of *Christ's Nativity*, and his *Incarnation*, every yeere; together with the *Lords day*, *weekly*. And yet it may bee thought

fig. 1. 1. 8.

thought, that in those times, the *Lords day* was not here of any great account; in that they kept the *feast of Easter*, after the fashion of the *Churches*, in the *Easterne* parts *decima quarta luna*, on what day of the weeke soever: which certainly they had not done, had the *Lords day* obteined amongst them that esteeme, which generally it had found in the *westerne* *Churches*. And howsoever a late writer of *Ecclesiastical history*, endeavour to acquit the *Brittans* of these first Ages, from the erroneous observation of that *feast*, and make them therein followers of the *Church of Rome*: yet I conceive not that his proofes come home, to make good his purpose. For where it is his purpose to prove, by computation, that that erroneous observation, came not in amongst the *Brittans*, till 30 yeeres before the entrance of S. *Austin*, and his associates into this *Iland*; and for that end hath brought a passage out of *Beda*, touching the continuance of that custome: its plaine that *Beda* speakes not of the *British*, but the *Scottish* *Christians*. *Permanit autem apud eos* [the *Scottish-Irish Christians*, as himselfe confesseth] *hujusmodi observantia Paschalis tempore non paucis, hos est usque ad annum Domini. 717. per annos 150*: which was, (as hee computes it somewhat neere the point) but 30 yeeres before the entrance of that *Austin*. Now for the *Scots*, it is apparent that they received not the faith, till the yeere of Christ 430, (not to say any thing of the time wherein they first set footing in this *Iland*, which was not very long before): and probably might about that time, of which *Beda* speakes, receive that custome of keeping *Easter* from the *Brittans*, who were next neighbours to them, and a long time lived mingled with them. But for the *Brittans* it is most certaine, that they had longer beene accustomed to that observation: though for the time thereof, whether it came in with the first plantation of the *Gospell* here, wee will not contend; as not pertaining to the busynesse which wee have in hand. Suffice it, that the *Brittans* anciently were observant of those *publicke festivalls*, which had beene generally entertained

CHAP. 70. The History of PART. 2.
tained in the Church of God: though for the time of celebrating the feast of Easter, they might adherr more unto one Church, then unto another. As for the Canon of the Councell of Nice, which is there alledged, Baronius rightly hath observed out of Athanasius, that notwithstanding both that Canon, and the Emperours Edict, thereupon; tam etiam postea, Syria, Cilicia, &c. Mesopotamia, in eadem errore permanuisse, the Syrians, Cilicians, and Mesopotamians, contained in their former errors. And why not then the Britans, which lay farther off; as well as those that dwelt so neare the then Regall City?

ANNO 198.

(2) Proceed wee next unto the Saxons, who as they first received the faith, from the Church of Rome; so did they therewithall, receive such institutions, as were at that time generally entertained in the Roman Church: the celebration of the *Lords day*, and the other *festivals*, which were allowed of and observed, when *Gregory the Great* attainted the *Popedome*. And here, to take things as they lie in order, we must beginne with a *narration*, concerning *Westminster*, which for the prettinessse of the story I will here insert. *Sebri* the first *Christian King of the East Saxons*, having built that Church, unto the honour of God, and memory of *Saint Peter*, invited *Mellitus Bishop of London*, on a day appointed, unto the consecration of it. The night before, *S. Peter* comming to the further side, crosseth the ferrie, goes into the *Church*, and with a great deale of *celestiall musick*, lights, and company, performs that office; for the dispatch of which *Mellitus* had beene invited. This done, and being wafted backe to the further side, hee gives the ferri-man for his *fare*, a good draught of fishes, onely commanding him, to carry one of them, which was the best for price and beauty, for a present, from him, to *Mellitus*; in testimony that the worke was done, to his hand already. Then telling who hee was, hee addes, that hee and his posterity, the *whole race of fishers*, should bee long after stod with that kinde of fish: *tantum ne ultra pescari audeatis in die Dominica*, provided always, that they fished no more

Aldredus de Ge-
sis Edwardi.

PART. 2. the Sabbath. CHAP. 7. 213

more upon the *Sunday*. *Aldredus* so reports the storie. And though it might be true, as unto the times wherein hee lived, (which was in the declining of the twelfth Century) that *fishing* on the *Lords day* was restrained by Law: yet sure hee placed this storie ill, in giving this injunction from *Saint Peter* in those early dayes, when such restraints were hardly setled; if in a Church new planted, they had yet beeene spoke of. Leaving this therefore as a fable, let us next looke on *Beda*, what hee hath left us of this day, in reference to our Ancestors of the *Saxons*: and many things wee finde in him, worth our observation. Before wee shewed you, how the *Sunday* was esteemed a *festivall*, that it was judged *hereticall to hold fast*, thereon. This ordinance came in amongst us with the faith it selfe. *S. Chadd*, having a *Hist. l. 3. c. 23.* place designed him by King *Oswald*, to erect a monastery, did presently retire unto it, in the time of *Lent*: In all which time, *Dominica excepta*, the *Lords day* excepted, hee fasted constantly till the evening, as the storie tells us. The like is told of *Adamannus*, one of the monastery of *Coldingham*, now in *Scotland*, (but then accounted part *Hist. l. 4. c. 25.* of the Kingdome of *Northumberland*,) that hee did live in such a strict and abstemious manner, *ut nil unquam cibi vel potus, excepta die Dominica, & quinta Sabbati perciperet*; that hee did never eate nor drinke but on the *Sunday* and *Thursday* onely. This *Adamannus* lived in *Anno 690*. Before wee shewed you, with what profit *musicke* had beeene brought into the Church of God: and hither it was brought, it seemes, with the first preaching of the *Gospell*. *Beda* re-*Ecc. hist. l. 2. c. 20.* lates it of *Paulinus*, that when hee was made Bishop of *Rochester*, which was in *An. 631*, he left behind him in the North one *Iames a Deacon, cantans in Ecclesia peritissimus*, a man exceeding perfect in *Church musicke*: who taught them there that forme of *singing* divine service, which hee learnt in *Canterbury*. And after in the yeere 668, what time *Archbishop Theodore* made his *Metropoliticall visitation*, the *Art of singing* service, which was then onely used in *Kent* (for in the *North* it had not beeene so setled, but that

CHAP. 7. *The History of PART. 2.*
 that it was againe forgotten) was generally taken up over all the Kingdome. *Sinos cantandi in Ecclesia, quos catenus in Cantia cantum neverant, ab hoc tempore per omnes Annos Ecclesias discere cuperunt*, as that Author hath it. Before wee shewed, how Pope *Vitalianus*, anno 653. added the *Organ* to that *vocall musick*, which was before in use in the *Church of Christ*. In lesse then 30 yeeres after, and namely in the yeere 679. were they introduced by Pope *Agatho*, into the *Churches of the English*: and have continued in the same well neer 1000 yeeres, without interruption. Before wee shewed you, how some of the *greater festivalls*, were in esteeme before the *Sunday*; and that it was so even in the *primitive times*. And so it also was in the *primitive times* of this *Church of England*: it being told us of *Queene Etheldreda*, that after shee had put her selfe into a monastery, she never went unto the *Bathes prater imminentibus solenniss majoribus*, but on the approach of the *greater festivalls*, such as were *Easter*, *Pentecost*, and *Christmasse*; for so I thinke hee meanes there by *Epiphany*: as also, that unless it were on the *greater festivalls* she did not use to eat, above once, a day. This plainly shewes, that *Sunday* was not reckoned for a *greater festivall*; that other dayes were in opinion & esteeme above it: and makes it evident withall, that they conceived not that the keeping of the *Lords day*, was to be accounted as a part of the *law of nature*; or introduced into the *Church*, by *divine authority*, but by the same *authority* that the others were. For Lawes in these times made, wee meete with none but those of *Ina*, a *West-Saxon King*, who entred on his reigne anno 712: A Prince exceedingly devoted to the *Church of Rome*, and therefore apt inough to embrace any thing, which was there concluded. By him it was enacted, in this forme that followeth. *Servus si quid operis patrariit die Dominico, ex praecepto Domini sui, liber esto &c.* „ If a servant worke on the *Lords day*, by the appointment of his master, hee was to be set free, and his master was to forfeit 30 shillings: but if hee worked without such order from his master, to bee whipped,

PART. 2. *the Sabbath.* CHAP. 7. 215
 „ whipped, or mulcted. *Liber si hoc die operetur injussu Domini sui, &c.* So if a free-man worked that day, without direction from his master, hee either was to bee made a *Bond-man*, or pay 60 shillings. As for the *doctrine* of these times, wee may best judge of that by *Beda*. First for the *Sabbath*, that hee tells us, *ad Mosis usque tempora ceterorum dierum similis erat*, was merely like the other dayes untill *Moses* time; no difference at all betweene them: therefore not institute and observed in the beginning of the world, as some teach us now. Next for the *Lords day*, that hee makes an *Apostolicall sanction* onely, no *divine commandement*; as before wee noted: and how farre *Apostolicall sanctions* binde, wee may cleerely see, by that which they determined in the *Councell of Hierusalem*. Of these two specialties, wee have spoke already.

In LUC. 19.

(3) This is the most wee finde in the *Saxon Heptarchie*; and little more then this we finde in the *Saxon Monarchie*. In this wee meete with *Alred* first, the first that brought this Realme in order, who in his lawes *cap. de diebus festis & solennibus*, reckoneth up certaine dayes in which it was permitted unto *free-men* to enjoy their *festivall liberty*, as the phrase there is: *servis autem & ijs qui sunt legitima officiorum servitute astricti, non item*; but not to *slaves*, and such as were in service unto other men viz. the twelve dayes after *Christs Nativity*, *dies ille quo Christus subegit diabolum*, the day wherein our Saviour overcame the *Devill*; the festivall of *Saint Gregory*, seaven dayes before *Easter*, and as many after, the festivall day of *Saint Peter and Paul*, the weeke before our *Lady day* in harvest, *All-Hallowide*, and the foure wednesdayes in the *Ember-weeke*. Where note how many other dayes, were privileged in the selfe same manner, as the *Lords day* was; in case that bee the day then spoke of, wherein our Saviour overcame the *Devill*, as I thinke it is; as also that this privilege extended unto *free-men* onely, servants and *bond-men* being left in the same condition as before they were; to spend all

all dayes alike in their masters busynesses. This Alured began his reigne, anno 871. and after him succeeded Edward, surnamed the Elder, in the yeere 900. who in a league betwene himselfe and *Guntbrun King of the Danes in England*, did publickely on both sides prohibite, as well all markettings on the *Sunday*, as other kinde of worke what soever on the other *holy dayes*. *Datus si die Dominico quicquam fuerit mercatus, reipsa, & Oris præterea 12 multator; Anglus 30 solidos numerato, &c.* If a Dane bought any thing on the *Lords day*, he was to forfeit the thing bought, and to pay 12 *Oras*, (every *Ora* being the fifteenth part of a pound) an *Englishman* doing the like to pay 30 shillings. A *freeman* if he did any worke, *die quocunq; festo, on any of the holy dayes*, was forthwith to be made a *Bondman*, or to redeeme himselfe with mony; a *bond-slave* to be beaten for it, or redeeme his beating with his purse. The master also whether that he were *Englishman* or *Dane*, if he compelled his servants to worke on any of the *holy dayes*, was to answer for it. So when it had been generally received in other places to begin the *Sunday-service* on the *Eve* before, it was enacted by *K. Edgar*, surnamed the *peaceable*, who began his reigne, anno 959, *diem Sabbathi, ab ipsa die Saturni hora pomeridiana tertia, usque in lunaris diei diluculum, festum agitari*: that the *Sabbath* should beginne on *Saturday*, at three of the clocke in the *afternoone*, (and not as *Foxe* relates it in his *Acts and Monuments*, at nine in the morning) and so hold on till day breake, on *Monday*. Whereby the way, though it be *dies Sabbathi* in the *Latine*, yet in the *Saxon copie*, it is onely *Healde*, the *holy day*. After this *Edgars* death, the *Danes* so plagued this realme, that there was nothing settled in it either in Church or state, till finally they had wonne the *Garland*, and obteined the *Kingdome*. The first of these, *Canutus*, an *heroicke Prince*; of whom it is affirmed by *Malmesbury*, *omnes leges ab ari-
zignis regibus, & maxime sub Etheldreda latas*, that hee commanded all those lawes to be observed which had been made by any of the former Kings, (and those before remembred

bred amongst the rest, of which see the 42 of his *Constitu-
tions* especially by *Etheldred* his predecessor: and that upon a grievous mulct, to bee layed on such, who should disobey them. These are the lawes which afterwards were called *King Edwards*, *non quod ille statuerit, sed quod observarit*, not because hee enacted them, but that he caused them to bee kept. Of these more anon. Besides which Lawes so brought together, there were some others made at *Winche-
ster* by this King *Canutus*: and amongst others, this, that on the *Lords day* there should be no marketing, no Courts, or publicke meetings of the people for civill busynesses: as also that all men abstaine from hunting, and from all kind of earthly work. Yet was there an exception too, *nisi flagitante necessitate*, in cases of necessity, wherein it was permitted both to buy and sell, and for the people to meet together in their *Courtes*. For so it pasleth in the Law. *Die Dominico mercata concelebrari, populive conventus agi, nisi flagitante necessitate planissime vetamus: ipso præterea die sacro/antico à venatione, & opere terreno prorsus omni, quisque abstinet.* Not that it is to be supposed, as some would have it, that he intended *Sunday* for a *Sabbath day*. For entring on the *Crown* an. 1017, he did no more then what had formerly been enacted by *Charles the Great*, and severall *Councils* after him; none of which dreamed of any *Sabbath*. Besides it is affirmed of this *Canutus*, by *Otho Frisingensis*, that in the yeere 1027, *Lib. 6. c. 29.* he did accompany the *Emperour Conrade* at his coronation on an *Easter day*; which questionlesse hee would not have done, knowing those kinde of pompes to be mereley civill, & to have in them much of ostentation; had he intended any *Sabbath*, when he restrained some works on *Sunday*. But to make sure worke of it, without more ado, the lawes by him collected, which we cal *S. Edwards*, make the matter plaine: where *Sunday* hath no other privilege then the other feasts; & which is more, is ranked below the. The law is thus entituled, *De temporibus & diebus pacis Domini Regis*: the text as followeth. *Ab adventu Domini usq; ad octavam Epiphaniae, Pax. Dei & Ecclesie, per eumque regnum, &c.* From *Advent* to the *secundo Octaves*, ^{1027 de Hove.} _{dec. in Henrico}

„ slaves of Epiphanie, let no mans person be molested, nor no
 „ suite pursued: the like from Septuagesima, to Low-sunday;
 „ and so from holy thursday to the next Sunday after Whit-
 „ sonside. Item omnibus Sabbatis ab hora nona usq[ue] ad diem
 „ Luna &c. the like on Saturdayes from thre in the after-
 „ noone untill monday morning; as also on the Eves of the
 „ Virgin Mary, S. Michael, S. John the Baptist, all the
 „ holy Apostles; of such particular Saines whose festivalls are
 „ published in the Church on the Sunday mornings; the
 „ Eve of All Saints in November, from three of the Clock,
 „ till the solemnity be ended. As also that no Christian be
 „ molested, going to Church for his devotiōs, or returning
 „ thence: or travelling to the dedicatiō of any new erected
 „ Church, or to the Synods, or any publicke chapter meet-
 „ ing. Thus was it with the *Lords day*, as with many others,
 in S. Edwards Lawes; which after were confirmed and ra-
 tified by King *Henry* the second, after they had long bee[n]
 neglected.

(4) Now goe wee forwards to the *Normans*, and let us
 see what care they tooke about the sanctifying of the *Lords*
 day; whether they either tooke or meant it for a *Sabbath*.
 And first beginning with the reigne of the first six Kings,
 wee finde them times of action, and full of troubles, as it
 doth use to bee in unsettled states: no Law recorded to bee
 made touching the keeping of this day; but many actions
 of great note to bee done upon it. These wee will ranke
 for orders sake under these 5 heades: 1 *Coronations*, 2 *Sy-
 nods Ecclesiastical*, 3 *Councells of Estate*, 4 *Civill busi-
 nesse*, and 5 *Batailles and assaults*; which we shall summe
 up briefly in their place and time. And first for *Coronati-
 ons*, which as before I said, are mixt kinde of actions, com-
 pound of sacred and of civill; *William*, surnamed *Rufus*,
 was crowned at *Canterbury* by *Archbishop Lanfrancke*, the
 25 of Sept. being *Sunday*, anno 1087. So was King *Stevens*,
 the 21 of Decemb. being *Sunday* too, anno 1135. On *Sun-
 day* before *Christmasse* day was *Henry* the second crowned
 at *London*, by *Archbishop Theobald*. anno 1155: and on
 the

the *Sunday* before *Septuagesima*, his daughter *Ioane* was, at
Palermo, crowned *Queene of Sicile*. Of *Richard* the first
 it is recorded, that hoyfing saile from *Barbeflet* in *Nor-
 mandie*, hee arrived safely here upon the *Sunday*, before our
Lady day in harvest: whence setting towards *London*,
 there met him his *Archbishops*, *Bishops*, *Earles*, and
Barons, *cum copio/a militum multitudine*, with a great mul-
 titude of Knightly ranke; by whose advise and Counsaile he
 was crowned on a *Sunday*, in September following, anno
 1189: and after crowned a second time on his returne from
 thraldome and the *holy Land*, anno 1194. on a *Sunday* too.
 The royall & magnificent forme of his first coronation, they
 who list to see, may finde it most exactly represented in *Rog.
 de Houeden*. And last of all King *John*, was first inaugurated
Duke of Normandie, by *Walter Archbishop of Roane*, the
Sunday after *Easter day*, anno 1200: and on a *Sunday* after
 crowned *King of England*, together with *Isabell* his
Queene, by *Hubert* at that time *Archbishop of Canterbury*.
 For *Synods* next, an. 1070 a *Councell* was assembed at *Win-
 chester*, by the appointement of King *William* the first, and
 the consent of *Alexander* then *Pope of Rome*, for the de-
 grading of *Stigand* *Archbishop of Canterbury*: and this upon
 the *Sunday* next after *Easter*. And wee finde mention of
 a *Synod* called by *Richard* *Archbishop of Canterbury*. *Anno*
 1175. the *Sunday* before *holy thursday*: *ad quod concilium*
*venerunt fere omnes Episcopi & Abbates Cantuariensis di-
 ceseos*; where were assembed almost all the *Bishops* and
Abbots of the whole Province. For *Councells of Estate*,
 there was a solemne meeting called on *Trinity Sunday*, anno
 1142, in which assembed *Maud* the Empresse, and all the
Lords which held her partie; where the *Ambassadoris* from
Anjou gave up their account: and thereupon it was con-
 cluded, that the *Earle of Gloucester* should bee sent thither
 to negotiate his sisters busynesse. So in the yeere 1185, when
 some *Embaſſadours* from the *East*, had offered to King *He-
 nry* the second, the *Kingdome of Hierusalem*; the King de-
 signed the first *Sunday* in *Lent* for his day of answer. Upon
 which

which day there met at London, the King, the Patriarch of Hierusalem, the Bishops, Abbots, Earles, and Barons of the Realme of England; as also William King of Scotland, and his brother David, with the Earles and Barons of that countrey: *& habito inde cum deliberatione concilio &c.* and then and there upon mature deliberation, it was concluded, that though the King accepted not the title, yet he would give his people leave, to put themselves into the action, and take up the Croffe. For *civill businesse* of another nature, we find it on record that on the fourth *Sunday in Lent*, next following, the same King Henry Knighted his Sonne John, and sent him forthwith into Ireland: Knighthood at those times being farre more full of ceremonie, then now it is. Which being but a preparation to warre and military matters, leades us unto such battailes, as in these times were fought on *Sunday*. Of which wee finde it in our Annalls, that in the yeere 1142. upon a *Sunday* being *Candlemasse* day, King Stephen was taken prisoner at the battaile of Lincoln: as also that on *Holy-Crosse* day next after, being *Sunday* too, Robert Earle of Gloucester Commander of the adverse forces, was taken prisoner at the battaile of Winchester. So reade wee that on *Sunday* the 25 of August anno 1173. the King of France besieged and forced the Castle of Dole in Brittaine, belonging to the King of England: as also that on *Sunday* the 25 of September anno 1198. King Richard tooke the Castle of Cirences, from the King of France. More of this kinde might bee remembred, were not these sufficient, to shew how anciently it hath beene the use of the Kings of England, to create Knights, and hold their Councells of estate, on the *Lords day*, as now they doe. Were not the others here remembred, sufficient to let us know, that our progenitours did not think so superstitiously of this day, as not to come upon the same unto the crowning of their Kings, or the publicke Synods of the Church; or if neede were, and their occasions so required it, to fight as well on the *Lords day*, as on any other. Therefore no *Lords day Sabbath* hitherto, in the Realme of England.

(5) Nor

(5) Not hitherto indeed. But in the Age that followed next there were some overtures thereof, some strange preparatives to begin one. For in the very entrance of the 13 Age, Fulco, a French Priest, and a notable hypocrite, as *Reg. de Horsden.* our King Richard counted him and the story proves, lighted upon a new *Sabbatarian* fancy; which one of his associates, Eustachius Abbat of Flay, in Normandie, was sent to scatter here in England: but finding opposition to his doctrine, hee went backe againe the next yeere after, being 1202, hee comes better fortified, preaching from towne to towne, and from place to place, *ne quis forum rerum venalium diebus Dominicis exercearet*, that no man should presume to market on the *Lords day*. Where by the way we may observe, that notwithstanding all the Canons and Edicts before remembred in the fift Chapter of this booke, and the third Section of this Chapter, the *English* kept their markerts on the *Lords day*, as they had done formerly, as neither being bound to those which had beeene made by forraigne states; or such as being made at home, had long before beeene cut in peeces by the sword of the *Norman* Conqueror. Now for the easier bringing of the people to obey their dictates they had to shew, a warrant sent from God himselfe, as they gave it out. The title this, *Mandatum sanctum Dominica diei quod de caelo venit in Hierusalem, &c.* An holy mandat touching the *Lords day*, which came downe from Heaven, unto Hierusalem, found on S. Simeons Altar in Golgotha, where Christ was Crucified for the sins of all the world: which lying there three dayes, and as many nights, strooke with such terrorre all that saw it, that falling on the ground they besought Gods mercy. At last the Patriarch, and *Akarias* the Archbishop (of I know not whence) ventured to take into their hands that dreadfull letter, which written thus. Now wipe your eyes and looke a while on the Contents, which I shall render with as much brevity, as the thing requires. *Ego Dominus qui praecepi vobis ut observaretis diem sanctum Dominicum, & non custodistis eum &c.* I am the Lord which

which hath commanded to keepe holy the *Lords day*,
 and you have not kept it, neither repented of your
 sinnes, &c. I caused repentance to bee preached unto
 you, and you believed not. Then sent I *Pagans* amongst
 you, &c. and because you did not keepe the *Lords day*
 holy, I punished you a while with famine, &c. There-
 fore I charge you all, that from the ninth hour on the
saturday, untill Sunne-rising on the *monday*, no man pre-
 sume to doe any worke, but what is good; or if hee doe,
 that hee repent him of the same. Verily I say and sweare
 unto you by my Seate and Throne, and by the *Cherubins*
 that keepe my seate, that if you doe not harken to this
 my *Mandat*, I will no more send to you any other Epic-
 stle; but I will open the heavens, and raine upon you
 stones, and wood and scalding water, &c. This I avow,
 that you shall dye the death, for the *Lords day* and other
 festivalls of my *Saints*, which you have not kept: and I
 will send amongst you beasts with the heade of Lyons,
 and the haire of women, and the tayles of Camels; and
 they shall eat you and devoure you. There is a great
 deale more of this wretched stoffe: but I am weary of abu-
 sing both my paines and patience. Onely I cannot choose
 but wish, that those who have enlarged their *Lords day*
Sabbath to the same extent, would either shew us some
 such letter, or bring us any of the miracles which hereafter
 follow: or otherwise bee pleased to lengthen out the *festi-
 vals* of the *Saints* in the selfe same manner, as by this good-
 ly Script they are willed to doe.

(6) But to proceed, the said *Eustathius* thus furnished,
 and having found but ill successe, the former yeere, in the
 Southerne parts, where hee did *Anglia Pralatos predicati-
 one sua molestare*, disturbance Prelates by his preachings,
 as my Author hath it; hee went up to *Yorke*. There did hee
 preach his doctrines, and absolve such as had offended:
 conditioned that hereafter they did shew more reverence
 unto the *Lords day*, and the other *holy dayes*, doing no ser-
 vile works upon them; *ne in diebus Dominicus exercerent
 forum*

forum rerum venalium, particularly, that on the *Lords day* they should hold no marketts. The people hereunto assen-
 ted, and promised they would neither buy nor sell on the
Lords day, nisi forte cibum & potum pratreunibus, except-
 ing meate and drinke to passengers. Whereby it seemes,
 that notwithstanding all this terror, men were permitted
 yet to travale on the *Lords day*, as they had occasion.
 This comming to the notice of the King, and Councell, my
 men were all fetched up; such specially *qui in diebus Do-
 minicis forum rerum venalium dejeerant*, which had dis-
 turbed the marketts, and overthrowne the boothes and
 merchandise on the *Lords day*: and made to fine unto the
 King, for their misdemeanour. Then were they faine to
 have recourse to pretended miracles. A Carpenter making
 a wooden pinne, and a woman making up her webbe, both
 after three on *Saturday*, in the afternoone; are suddenly
 smitten with the Palsey. A certaine man of *Nafferton*, ba-
 king a cake on *Saturday* night, and keeping part untill the
 morrow, no sooner brake it for his breakfast, but it gushed
 out blood. A Miller of *Wakefield*, grinding Corne on *Sa-
 turday* after three of the clocke, instead of meale, found his
 binne full of blood: his mill-wheele standing still of its
 owne accord. One or two more there are of the same edi-
 tion. And so I thinke is that related in the *Acts and Mon-
 numents*, out of an old booke entituled *de Regibus An-
 glie*; which, now I am fallen upon these fables, shall bee
 joyned with them. „ *King Henry the second*, saith the story,
 „ being at *Cardiffe in Wales*, and being to take horse, there
 stood a certaine man by him having on him a white coate,
 and being barefoote, who looked upon the King, and
 spake in this wise. Good old King, *John Baptist* and
Peter straightly charge you, that on the *Sundales* through-
 out all your dominions, there bee no buying or selling
 nor any other servile businesse, (those onely except
 which appertaine to the preparation of meat and drinke:)
 which thing if thou shalt observe, whatsoever thing thou
 takest in hand, thou shalt happily finish. *Adding* withall,
 that

„, that unless he did these things, and amend his life, hee
 „, shoule heare such newes within the twelve moneth, as
 „, would make him mourne till his dying day. But to con-
 clude, what was the issue of all this, this terrible letter, and
 forged miracles? That the historian tells us with no small
 regrete, informing us that notwithstanding all these mi-
 racles, whereby God did invite the people to observe this
 day: *populus plus timens regiam potestatem, quam divinam,*
 the people fearing more the Kings power, then Gods, return-
 ed unto their marketing, as before they did.

Houeden.

(7) I say that the historian tells it with no small re-
 greate; for in that passionate discontent he had said before,
 that *inimicus humani generis*, the Divell enjoying the pro-
 ceedings of this holy man so farre so possessed the King and
 the Princes of darkenesse (so hee calls the Councell) that
 they forthwith proceeded against them who had obeyed
 him. Which makes me thinke, that this *Eustachius* was a
 familiar of the Popes, sent hither for the introducing of
 those restraints, which had been formerly imposed on most
 parts of *Christendome*; though here they found no enter-
 tainment; the Popes had found full well how ill their just-
 lings had succeeded hitherto with the Kings of *England*, of
 the *Norman* race: and therefore had recourse to their won-
 ted arts, by prodigies and miracles to insnare the people,
 and bring them so unto their bent. And this I doe the ra-
 ther thinke, because that in the following yeere, Anno
 1203, there was a *Legate* sent from *Rome*, to *William King*
 of *Scots*, with severall presents, and many indulgences.
Quae quoniam grato accepit animo, eodem concilio approbante
 „, *decreta est, &c.* Which hee accepting very kindly, it
 „, pleased him with the approbation of his Parliament at
 „, that time assembled, to passe a Law, that *Saturday* from
 „, twelve at noone should bee counted holy; and that no
 „, man should deale in such worldly businesse, as on
 „, the feast-dayes were forbidden. As also that at the
 „, sounding of the bell, the people should bee busied only
 „, about holy actions, going to sermons, hearing the *Vipvers*

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„, or the Evensong: *idque usque in diem Lunae facerent*, and that
 „, they should continue thus untill munday morning; a pe-
 „, nalty being layed on those who should doe the contrary.
 So passed it then, and in the yeare 1214, some eleven yeares
 after, it was enacted in a Parliament at *Scone*, under *Alexander* the third King of the *Scots*, that none should fish in *any waters, a die Sabbati post vespertas usque ad diem luna post ortum solis*, from Saturday after Evening prayer, untill Sunne-rising on the munday. This after was confirmed in the first Parliament of King *James the first*; and is to this day called the *Saturday Slop*. So easily did the Popes pre-
 varile with our now friends of *Scotland*; that neither mira-
 cle, nor any speciall placket from the *Court of Heaven*, was
 accounted necessary.

(8) But here with us in *England* it was not so, though now the Popes had got the better of King *John*, that unhappy Prince; and had in *Canterbury* an Archbishop of their owne appointment, even that *Steven Langton*, about whom so much strife was raised. Which notwithstanding, and that the King was then a *Minor*, yet they proceeded here with great care and caution; and brought the *holy dayes* into order, not by command or any *Decretall* from *Rome*, but by *Ap. Lindwood*, a councell held at *Oxford*, Anno 1222: where amongst other ordinances tending unto the government of the Church, the *holy dayes* were divided into these three rankes. In the first ranke were those, *que omni veneracione servanda erant*, which were to bee observed with all reverence and solemnity: of which sort were *omnes dies Domini, &c.* all *Sundayes* in the yeere, the feast of *Christs Nativity*, together with all others now observed in the Church of *England*: as also all the festivalls of the *Virgin Mary*, excepting that of her *Conception* which was left at large; with diverse which have since beeene abrogated. And for conclusion, *festum dedicationis cuiuslibet Ecclesie in sua parochia, the Wakes, or feasts of dedication of particular Churches, in their proper parishes, are there determined to bee kept with the same reverence and solemnity, as the*

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Sundayes

Sundays were. Nor was this of the Wakes or feasts of dedication any new devise; but such as could pleade a faire originall from the Councell held in *Monk.*, anno 813, If it went no higher. For in a Catalogge there made of such principall feasts, as annidally were to bee observed; they reckoned *dedicationem templi*, the consecration feast, or wake, as wee use to call it; and place it in no lower ranke, in reference to the solemnity of the same, then *Easter*, *Whitsontide* and the rest of the greater festivalls. Now in those Wakes or feasts of dedication were either held upon the very day on which, or the Saints day to which, they had first been consecrated. But after finding that so many holy dayes brought no small detriment to the commonwealth, it came to passe, that generally these Wakes or feasts of dedication were resipted, untill the *Sunday* following, as wee now observe them. Of the next ranke of feasts in this Councell mentioned, were those, which were by Priest and Curate to bee celebrated most devoutly, with all due performances; *minoribus operibus servilibus, secundum consuetudinem loci, iis diebus interdatis*, all servile worke of an inferiour and lesse important nature, according to the custome of the place, being layd aside. Such were *Saint Fabian* and *Sebastian*, and some twenty more, which are therein specified, but now out of use: and amongst them, the festival of *Saint George* was one, which after in the yere 1414, was made by *Chicheley* then *Archbishop*, a *Majus duplex*, and no lesse solemnly to be observed then the feast of *Christ mass*. Of the last ranke of feasts, were those in *quibus post missam opera rusticana concedebantur, sed unquam non*, wherein it was permitted that men might after Mass, pursue their Countrey busynesses, though not before: and thele were onely the Octaves of *Epipharie*, and of *John the Baptist*, and of *Saint Peter*, together with the translations of *Saint Benedict*, and *Saint Martin*. But yet it seemes that on the greater festivalls, those of the first ranke, there was no restraint of tillage, and of shipping, if occasion were; and that necessity did require: though on those dayes, Sundays and all before remembred,

membred, there was a generall restraint of all other works. For so it standeth in the title, prefixt before those festivalls: *hac sunt festa, in quibus, prohibitis aliis operibus, conceduntur opera agriculturae & carriarum*. Where, by the way, I have translated *carriarum*, shippimg: the word not being put for plough or Cart, which may make it all one, with the word foregoing; but for shippes and layling. *Carruca*, signifieth a shippe of the greater burden, such as to this day wee call *Carrets*; which first came from hence. And in this sene the word is to bee found in an Epistle writ by *Gildas*, *Illis ad sua remeantibus emergunt certatum de Carruchis, quibus sunt trans Scyticam vallem aucti*. So then, as yet, tillage and layling were allowed of on the *Sunday*, if, as before I said, occasion were, and that necessity so required. Of other passages considerable in the reigne of *K. Henry the third*, the principall to this point and purpose, are his owne coronation, on *Whitsontide*, anno 1210, two yeres before this Councell; which was performed with great solemnity and concourse of people. Next, his bestowing the order of Knighthood on *Richard de Clare, Earle of Gloucester*, accompanied with forty other gallants of great hopes and spirit, on *Whitsunday* too, anno 1243; and last of all, a *Parliamentum generalissimum*, the Historian calls it, the next yere after.

(9) This was a faire beginning, but they staid not here. For after in a Synod of *Archbishop Islipps*, (he was advanced unto that see anno 1249.) it was decreed *de fratribus nostrorum consilio*, with the assent and counsaile of all the Prelates then assembled, that on the principall feasts hereafter named, there should bee generally a restraint through all the Province, *ab universis servilibus operibus etiam reipubl. utilibus*, even from all manner of servile works, though otherwise necessary to the Commonwealth. This general restraint, in reference to the *Sunday* was to beginne on Saturday night, *ab hora diei Sabbati vespertina*, as the Canon goes, not a minute sooner: and that upon good reason too, *ne India & superstitionis particeps videatur*.

Finch of the law.
l. 1. c. 3.

Nat. Breviary
fol. 17.
1 Eliz. p. 168.

mir, lest if they did beginne it sooner, (as some now would have us) they might bee guilty of a *leuith* superstition. The same to bee obserued in such other feasts, *qua* *suas* *habent* *vigilias*, whose *Eves* had formerly beeene kept. As also that the like restraint should bee obserued, upon the feast of *Christmasse*, *S. Steven*, *S. Iohn*, &c. and finally on the *Wakes*, or *dedication* feasts which before we speake of. Now for the workes before prohibited, though necessary to the *Commonwealth*; as wee may reckon *husbandry*, and all things appertayning thereto; so probably wee may reckon *lawdayes*, and all publicke sessions in Courts of Justice; in case they had not beeene left off in former times, when as the *Judges* generall being of the *Clergy*, might in obedience to the *Canon-law*, forbear their sessions on those dayes, the *Lord day* especially. For as our Sages in the law have resolved it generally that day is to be exempt from such busynesse, even by the *Common law*; for the solemnity thereof, *rathe* *intent* *that people may apply themselves to prayer*, and *Gods publicke service*. Particularly, *Fitz-herberti* tells us, that no plea shall bee holden *Quindena Pascha*, because it is alwayes on the *Sunday*, but it shall be holden *trahino quin- dena pascha*, on the *morrow* *after*. So *Justice Dyer* hath resolved, that if a *writ of scire facias* out of the *Common pleas*, beare *Test* *on a Sunday*, it is an *errour*, because that day is not *dies iuridicus in Banco*. And so it is agreed amongst them, that on a fine levied with *Proclamations* according to the *Statute of King Henry the seventh*, if any of the *Proclamations* be made on the *Lords day*, all of them are to be accounted *erroneous* *Acts*. But to returne unto the *Canon* where before wee left, however that *Archbishop Langton* formerly, and *Iffit* at the present time, had made these severall restraines from all *for vile labours*: yet they were far enough from intetayning any *leuith* fancy. The *Canon* last remembred, that of *Simon Iffit*, doth expresse as much. But more particularly and punctually wee may finde what was the judgement of these times, in a full declaration of the same, in a *Synod at Dunelm*, wheretime *John Peckam* was

Arch.

CHAP. 7. The History of PART. 2. 229

Archbishop, which was in *anno 1280*. It was thus determined. *Sciendum est quod obligatio ad feriandum in Sabbatho legali expiravit omnino, &c. &c.* ^{Lindw. l. 1. tit. de offic. Archb. fresb.} It is to bee understood, that all manner of obligation of resting on the *legall Sabbath*, as was required in the Old Testament, is utterly expired with the other ceremonies. And it is now sufficient in the New Testament, to attend Gods service upon the *Lords dayes*, and the other *holy dayes*, *ad hoc Ecclesiastica autoritate deputatis*, appointed by the Church to that end and purpose. The manner of sanctifying all which dayes, *non est sumendus à superstitione Judaica, sed à Canonicis institutis*, is not to bee derived from any *Jewish* superstition, but from the *Canons* of the Church. This was exact and plaine enough; and this was constantly the doctrine of the Church of England. *Iohannes de Burgo*, who lived about the end of K. *Henry the sixt*, doth almost word for word resolve it so, in his *Pupilla oculi*, part, 10. c. 11. D.

(10) Yet finde we not in these restraints, that *Marketing* had beeene forbidden, either on the *Lords Day*, or the other *holy dayes*; and, indeed, it was not; that came in afterwards by degrees, partly, by *Statutes of the Realme*, partly, by *Canons of the Church*; not, till all Nations else had long layd them downe. For in the 28. of King *Edward the third*, cap. 14. it was accorded and established, that *Shewing of Wools shall be made at the Staple every day of the weeke, except the Sunday and the solemn Feasts in the yeere*. This was the first restraint in this kind with us here, in *England*; and this gives no more priviledge to the *Lords Day*, than the *solemne Festivals*. Nor was there more done in it, for almost an hundred yeeres; not, till the time of *Henry the sixt*, anno 1444. what time, *Archbishop Stafford* decreed throughout his Province, *ut nundinae & espuria in Ecclesiis, aut Cemiteriis, diebusque Dominicis atque Festis, praterquam tempore messis, non teneantur*; that Faires and Markets should no more be kept in *Churches* and *Church-yards*, or on the *Lords dayes* or the other *holy dayes*, except in time of *harvest* onely. If in that time they might

Pp. 3.

Antiq. Brit. in Stafford.

might bee suffered, then certainly in themselves they were not unlawfull on any other ; further then as prohibited by the higher powers. Now that which the Archbishop had decreed throughout his Province, *Carmorb Lord Major of London*, attempted to exceed within that cittie. For in this yeere, saith *Fabian*, (anno 1444) an *Act was made by authority of the common Councell of London*, that upon the Sunday should no manner of thing within the franchise of the *City bee bought or sold*, neither vittuall, nor other thing : *nor none Artificer should bring his Ware unto any man to be worne, or occupied, that day*; as *Taylers garments, and Cord-wayners shooes* ; and so likewise all other occupations. But then it followeth in the story, *the which ordinance held but a while* : inough to shew by the successe, how ill it doth agree with a *Lord Maior*, to deale in things about the Sabbath. Afterwards in the yeere 1451, which was the 28 of this *Henries reigne*, it pleased the King in Parliament, to ratifie what before was ordered by that Archbishop; in this forme that followeth.

28. H. 6. c. 16. Considering the abominable ini-
rities and offenses done to Almighty God, and to his Saints, always ayders and singular assistants in our necessities, by the occasion of faires and marketts upon thet high and principall feasts : as, in the feast of the Ascension of our Lord, in the day of Corpus Christi, in the day of Whitsunday, Trinity Sunday, and other Sundayes ; as also in the high feast of the assumption of our Blessed Lady, the day of All Saints, and on Good Friday, accustomably and miserably holden and used in the Realme of England, &c. our Soveraigne Lord the King, &c. hath ordyned that all manner of faires and marketts on the said principall feasts, and Sundayes, and Good Friday, shall clearely cease, from all shewing of any gods and merchandises, necessary vittuall onely except, (which yet was more then was allowed in the City-Act) upon paine of forfettur of all the gods aforesaid to the Lord of the franchise or liberty, where such gods be or shall be shewed, contrarie to this ordynance; the fourre Sundayes in harvest except, Which cause or reservation,

Fabians Chro-
nicle.

tion, sheweth plainly that the things before prohibited, were not esteemed unlawfull in themselves : as also that this law was made, in confirmation of the former order of the Arch-bishop, as before was said. Now on this law, I finde two resolutions made, by my Lords the Judges. First Justice *Brian* in the 12 of King *Edward* the fourth, declared, that no sale made upon a *Sunday*, though in a *fayre* or *market overt*, (for *markets*, as it seemeth, were not then quite layed downe ; though by law prohibited) shall bee a good sale to alter the property of the goods. And *Ploydon* in the time of *Queene Elizabeth* was of opinion, that the *Datons Justice*. *Lord of any faire or market kept upon the Sunday contrary to cap. 27.* the *statute, may therefore be endited for the King or Queene, either at the Assises, or generall Gaole delivery, or quarter Sessions within that County*. If so, in case such *Lord* may bee endited for any *fayre or market kept upon the Sunday*, as being contrary to the *Statute* : then by the same reason may hee bee endited, for any *fayre or market kept on any of the other holy days*, in that *Statute* mentioned.

(11.) Nor staied it here. For in the 1455, which was the fourth yeere of King *Edward* the fourth, it pleased the King, in Parliament, to enact, as followeth. *Our Soveraigne Lord the King, &c. hath ordyned and established that no Cordwainer or Cobler, within the City of London, or within three miles of any part of the said City, &c. doe upon any Sunday in the yeere, or on the feasts of the Ascension or Nativity of our Lord, or on the feast of Corpus Christi, sell or command to be sold any shooes, huseans (i.e. bootes) or Galoches ; or upon the Sunday or any other of the said Feasts, shall set or put upon the feete or legges of any person any shooes, huseans, or Galoches, upon paine of forfettur and losse of 20 shillings, as ofteras any person shall doe contrary to this ordynance*. Where note, that this restraint was onely for the *City of London*, and the parts about it ; which shewes that it was counted lawfull in all places else. And therefore there must bee some particular motive, why this restraint was layd on those of *London* onely ; either

their insolencies, or some notorious neglect of Gods publicke service: the Gentle craft had otherwise bee[n] ungently handled, that they of all the tradesmen in that populous city, should bee so restrained. Note also, that in this very Act, there is a reservation or indulgence for the inhabitants of S. Martins le Grand, to doe as formerly they were accustomed, the said Act or Statute notwithstanding. Which very clause did after move King Henry the eight to repeale this Statute, that so all others of that trade might bee free, as they: or as the very words of the Statute are, that to the honour of almighty God, all the Kings subiects might be hereafter at their liberty, as well as the inhabitants of S. Martins le Grand. Now where it seemeth by the proeme of the Statute 17 of this King Edward. 4. c. 3. that many in that time did spend their holy dayes, in dice, quoites, tennis, bowling, and the like unlawfull games, forbidden (as is there affirmed) by the Lawes of the Realme; which said unlawfull games are thereupon prohibited, under a certaine penaltie in the Statute mentioned: It is most manifest that the prohibition was not in reference to the time, Sandayes or any other holy dayes; but only to the Games themselves, which were unlawfull at all times. For publicke actions in the times of these two last Princes, the greatest were the batailles of Tawan, and Barnet; one on Palme-Sunday, and the other on Easter day: the greatest fields that ever were fought in England. And in this State things stood till King Henry the eight.

Pupilla Oculi p.
10. c. 11. D.

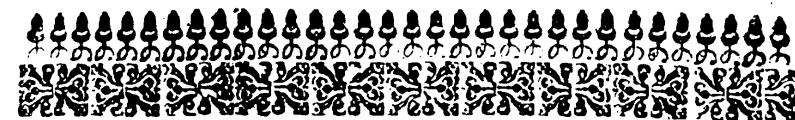
Id. ib. 5;

(12) Now for the doctrin and the practise of these times, before King Henry the eight, and the reformation; wee cannot take a better view then in Iohn de Burgo, Chancellor of the University of Cambridge, about the latter end of King Henry the sixt. First doctrinally hee determineth, as before was said, that the Lords day was instituted by the authority of the Church, and that it is no otherwise to bee observed, then by the Canons of the Church wee are bound to keepe it. Then for the name of Sabbath, that the Lords day, & qualibet dies statua ad divinam cultu[m] ram, and eve-

14 & 15 of H.
8. cap. 9.

ry day appointed for Gods publicke service, may bee so entituled, because in them wee are to rest from all servile works: such as are arts mechanike, husbandry, Law-daiies, and going to marketts, with other things quae ab Ecclesia determinantur, which are determined by the Church. Lastly, *Id. pars. 9. c. 4.* that on those dayes, *infestendum est orationibus, &c.* Wee 7. H. must bee busied at our prayers, the publicke service of the Church, in hymnes, and in spirituall songs, and in hearing Sermons. Next practically for such things as were then allowed of, he doth sort them thus. First generally, *Non tenem prohibentur his diebus facere quae pertinent ad providentiam necessariorum, &c.* We are not those dayes restrained from doing such things as conduce to the providing of necessaries either for our selves or for our neighbours: as in preserving of our persons, or of our substance; or in avoiding any losse that might happen to us. Particularly next, *si in- centibus, &c.* In case our Corne and hay in the fields a-broad, be in danger of a tempest, wee may bring it in, yea though it be upon the Sabbath. Butchers and victualers, if they make ready on the holy dayes, what they must sell the morrow after, either in open market, or in their shops; in case they cannot dresse it on the day before, or being dressed they cannot keep it: *non peccant mortaliter*, they fall not by so doing, into mortall sinne. *vectores mercium, &c.* Carriers *Id. ib. L.* of wares, or men, or victuals, unto distant places, in case they cannot doe it upon other daies without inconvenience, are to bee excused. Barbers and Chirurgions, Smithes or Farriers, if on the holy dayes they doe the works of their *Id. ib. M.* dayly labour, especially *propter necessitatem eorum quibus serviant*, for the necessities of those who want their helpe; are excusable also, but not in case they doe it chiefly for desire of gaine. Messengers, Posts and Travellers, that travaille, if some speciall occasion bee, on the holy dayes; whether they doe it for reward, or not; *non audet condemnare*, are not at all to bee condemned. As neither Millers, which doe grinde either with water-mils, or wind-mils, and so can doe their worke without much labour; but they may *Id. ib. N.* keepe

keepe the custome of the place in the which they live, not being otherwise commanded by their Ordinaryes: *secus si tractu iumentorum multuram faciunt*; but if it be an horse-mill, then the case is altered. So buying and selling on those dayes, in some present exigent, as the providing necessary victualls for the day, was not held unlawfull: *dum tamen exercentes ea non subtrahunt se divinis officiis*, in case they did not thereby keepe themselves from Gods publicke service. Lastly for recreations, for dancing on those dayes, hee determines thus: that they which *dance* on any of the *holy dayes*, either to stirre themselves, or others, unto carnall lusts, commit mortall sinne; and so they doe, saith hee, in case they doe it *any day*. But it is otherwise, if they *dance* upon honest causes, and no naughty purpose; and that the persons be not by law restrained. *Choreas ducentes, maxime in diebus festis, causa incitandi se, vel alios, ad peccatum mortale, pescant mortaliiter: & similiter si in profectis diebus hoc fiat: secus se hoc fiat ex causa honesta, & intentione non corrupta, & a persona, cui talia non sunt prohibita.* With which determination I conclude this Chapter.



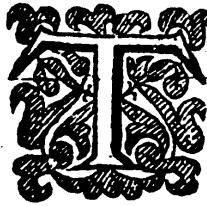
CHAP. VIII.

The story of the *Lords-day*, from the reformation of Religion, in this Kingdome, till this present time.

(1) The doctrine of the Sabbath and the *Lords day*, delivered by three severall Martyrs, conformably to the iudgement of the Protestants before remembred. (2) The *Lords day*, and the other holy dayes, confessed by all this Kingdome, in the Court of Parliament, to have no other ground, then the authority of the Church. (3) The meaning and occasion of that clause in the *Common prayer booke*, Lord have mercy upon us, &c. repeated at the end of the fourth Commandment. (4) That by the *Queenes Injunctions*, and the first Parliament of her reigne, the *Lords day* was not meant for a Sabbath day. (5) The doctrine in the Homilies delivered, about the *Lords day*, and the Sabbath. (6) The summe and substance of that Homily; and that it makes not any thing for a *Lords day Sabbath*. (7) The first originall of the *New Sabbath Speculations*, in this Church of England; by whom, and for what cause invented. (8) Strange and most monstrous Paradoxes, preached on occasion of the former doctrines; and of the other effects thereof. (9) What care was taken of the *Lords day* in King James his reigne; the spreading of the doctrines: and of the Articles of Ireland. (10) The

(10) The Iewish Sabbath set on foote: and of King James his declaration about lawfull sports, on the Lords day. (11) What tractes were write and published in that Princes time, in opposition to the doctrines before remembred. (12) In what estate the Lords day and the other holy dayes have stood in Scotland, since the reformation of Religion in that Kingdome. (13) Statutes about the Lords day, made by our present Sovereigne; and the misconstruing of the same: His Majestie reviveth and enlargeth the declaration of King James. (14) An exhortation to obedience unto his Majesties most Christian purpose, concludes this History.

(1)



HVS are wee safely come to these present times, the times of reformation, wherein what ever had beeene taught or done in the former dayes, was publickely brought unto the test, and if not well approved of, layed aside, either as unprofitable, or plainly hurtfull. So dealt the *Reformatours* of the Church of England, as with other things, with that which wee have now in hand, the *Lords day*, and the other *holy dayes*: keeping the dayes, as many of them as were thought convenient for the advancement of true godlinesse, and increase of piety; but paring off those superstitious conceits and matters of opinion, which had beeene enterteined about them. But first, before wee come to this, wee will by way of preparation, lay downe the iudgements of some men in the present point; men of good quality in their times, and such as were content to bee made a sacrifice, in the Common cause. Of these I shall take notice of three particularly, according to the severall times in the which they lived. And first wee will beginne with Master Fryer, who suffered in the yeere 1533 who in his *declaration of Baptisme*, thus declares himselfe. „ Our forefathers (saith hee) which were in the beginning of the Church, did abrogate the Sabbath, to

„ the intent that men might have an ensample of *Christian liberty*; &c. Howbeit because it was necessary that a day should be reserved in which the people should come together, to heare the word of God, they ordayned instead of the Sabbath which was *Saturday*, the next day following which is *Sunday*. And although they might have kept the Saturday with the few, as a thing indifferent; yet they did much better. Some three yeeres after him, anno 1536 being the 28 of *Henry the eighth* suffered Master Tyndall, who in his answer to Sir *Thomas More*, hath resolved it thus. „ As for the Sabbath we be *Lords over the Pag. 287.* Sabbath, and may yet change it into *Munday*, or into any other day, as wee see neede; or may make every tenth day *holy day onely*, If we see cause why. Neither was there any cause to change it from the Saturday, but to put a difference betweene us and the *Iewes*; neither need wee any *holy day* at all, if the people might bee taught without it. Last of all Bishop *Hooper*, sometimes Bishop of *Gloucester*, who suffered in *Queene Maries reigne*, doth in a treatise by him written on the *ten Commandements*, and printed in the yeere 1550, goe the selfe same way. „ *Wee may not* *thinke* (saith hee) *that God gave any more holinesse to the Sabbath, then to the other dayes*. For if yee consider *Friday*, *Saturday*, or *Sunday*, in as much as they be *dayes*, and the worke of God, the one is no more *holy* then the other: but that day is alwayes *most holy*, in the which we most apply and give our selves unto *holy works*. To that end did hee *sanctify the Sabbath day*, not that wee should give our selves to *illenesse*, or such *Ethnicall pastime* as is now used amongst *Ethnicall people*: but being free that day from the travailles of this world, wee might consider the works and benefits of God, with *thanksgiving*; heare the word of God, honour him and feare him; then to learne who, and where bee the poore of Christ, that want our helpe. Thus they: and they amongst them have resolved on these fourre conclusions. First, „ *but one day is no more holy then another*, the *Sunday* then the *Saturday* or the *Friday*; *Pag. 103.*

Friday; further than they are set apart for holy uses. Secondly, that the Lords day hath no institution from divine authority, but was ordained by our fore fathers in the beginning of the Church, that so the people might have a Day to come together, and heare Gods Word: thirdly, that still the Church hath power to change the day, from Sunday unto Monday, or what day shee will. And lastly, that one day in seven, is not the Morall part of the fourth Commandement: for M. Tyndall saith expresly, that by the Church of God, each tenth day onely may be kept holy, if wee see cause why. So that the mervaile is the greater, that any man should now affirme, as some men have done, that they are willing to lay downe both their Lives and Livings, in maintenance of those contrary Opinions, which in these latter dayes have been taken up.

(2) Now that which was affirmed by them, in their particulars, was not long afterwards made good by the generall Bodie of this Church and State, the King, the Lords Spirituall and Temporall, and all the Commons met in Parliament, anno the fift and sixt of King Edward the sixt; where, to the honour of Almighty God, it was thus enacted: *For as much as men bee not at all times so mindfull to laud and prasse God, so readie to resort to heare Gods Holy Word, and to come to the holy Communion, &c. as their bounden dutie both require: therefore, to call men to remembrance of their dutie, and to helpe their infirmitie, it hath beeene wholesomely prohibid, that there should be some certaine times and dayes appointed, wherein the Christians should cease from all kind of labour, and apply themselves only and wholly unto the aforesaid holy works, properly pertaining to true Religion, &c. which workes as they may well be called Gods Service, so the times especially appointed for the same, are called holy dayes: for so the matter or the nature either of the time or day, &c. so to all dayes and times are of like holynesse, but for the nature and condition of such holy workes, &c. whereunto such times and dayes are sanctified and hallowed; that is*

5. & 6. Edw. 6.
cap. 3.

to say, separated from all prophane uses, and dedicated not unto any Saint or Creature, but onely unto God, and his true worship. Neither is it to bee thought that there is any certaine time or definite number of dayes, prescribed in holy Scripture; but the appointment both of the time, and also of the number of dayes, is left by the authoritie of Gods Word unto the libertie of Christis Church, to bee determined and assigned orderly in every Countrey, by the discretion of the Rulers and Ministers thereof, as thou shalt judge most expedient, to the true setting forth of Gods glorie, and edification of their people. Nor is it to be thought, that all this Preamble was made in reference to the *holy dayes or Saints dayes onely*; whose being left to the *authoritie of the Church*, was never questioned: but in relation to the *Lords Day* also, as by the Act it selfe doth at full appeare; for so it followeth in the Act: *Wee it therefore enacted, &c. That all the dayes hereafter mentioned, shall bee kept, and commanded to be kept holy dayes, and nons other: that is to say, all Sundayes in the yeere, the Feasts of the Circumcision of our Lord Jesus Christ, of the Epiphanie, of the Purification, (with all the rest now kept, and there named particularly) and that none other day shall be kept, and commanded to bee kept holy day, and to abstaine from lawfull bodily labour.* Nay, which is more, there is a further Clause in the selfe-same Act, which plainly shewes that they had no such thought of the *Lords day*, as that it was a *Sabbath*, or so to bee observed, as the *Sabbath* was; and therefore did provide it, and enact by the *authoritie aforesaid*, *That it shall be lawfull to every Husbandman, Labourer, Fisherman, and to all and every other person and persons, of what estate, degree, or condition he or they be, upon the holy dayes aforesaid in Harvest, or at any other times in the yeere, when necessarie shall so require, to labour, ride, fish, or worke any kind of worke, at their free-wills and pleasure: any thing in this Act unto the contrary notwithstanding.* This is the totall of this Act; which, if examined well, as it ought to bee, will yeeld us all those pro-

CHAP. 8. *The History of* PART. 2.
 propositions or conclusions, before remembred, which we collected from the writings of those three particular *Martyrs*: Nor is it to be said, that it is repealed, and of no authoritie: Repealed, indeed, it was, in the first yeere of Queene *Mary*; and stood repealed in Law, though otherwise in use and practice, all the long Reigne of Queene *Elizabethe*: but in the first yeere of King *James*, was revived againe. Note here, that in the selfe-same Parliament, the *Common Prayer-Booke*, now in use, being reviewed by many godly Prelates, was confirmed and authorized; wherein, so much of the said *Act*, as doth concerne the names and number of the *holy dayes*, is expressed, and as it were incorporate into the same. Which makes it manifest, that in the purpose of the *Church*, the *Sunday*, was no otherwise esteemed of, than another *holy day*.

1. *Eliz. cap. 2.*

Cap. 1.

(3) This Statute, as before wee said, was made in anno 5. & 6. of *Edward* the sixt. And in that very Parliament, as before wee said, the *Common Prayer-Booke* was confirmed, which stilt remaines in use amongst us: save, that there was an alteration or addition of certaine Lessons to be used on ebery Sunday of the yeere; the forme of the Litanie altered, and corrected; and two Sentences added, in the deliberte of the Sacrament unto the Communicants. Now, in this *Common Prayer-Booke* thus confirmed, in the fift and sixt yeeres of King *Edward* the sixt, it pleased those that had the altering and revising of it, that the Commandements, which were not in the former *Liturgy*, allowed of in the second of the said Kings Reigne, should now be added, and accounted as a part of this; the people being willed to say after the end of each Commandement, *Lord have mercie upon us, and incline our hearts to keepe this Law*. Which being used accordingly, as well upon the hearing of the fourth Commandement, as of any others; hath given some men a colour to perswade themselves, that certainly it was the meaning of the *Church*, that wee should keepe a *Sabbath* still, though the day be changed; and that wee are obliged to doe it, by the fourth Commandement.

Assuredly,

Assuredly, they who so conclude, conclude against the meaning of the Booke, and of them that made it. Against the meaning of the Booke: for if the Booke had so intended, that that ejculation was to be understood in a literall sense, according as the words are layd downe *in terminis*; it then must be the meaning of the Booke, that wee should pray unto the Lord, to keepe the *Sabbath* of the *Jewes*, even the *seventh day* precisely, from the Worlds Creation, and keepe it in the selfe-same manner, as the *Jewes* once did; which no man, I presume, will say was the meaning of it. For, of the changing of the *day*, there is nothing said, nor nothing intimated; but the whole Law laid downe *in terminis*, as the Lord delivered it. Against the meaning also of them that made it: for they that made the Booke, and reviewed it afterwards, and caused these Passages and Prayers to be added to it; *Crammer*, *Archbishop of Canterbury*; *Ridley*, *Bishop of London*; and certaine others of the Prelates, then and there assembled; were the same men, by whose advice and counsaile, the *Act* before remembred, about keeping *holy dayes*, was in the selfe-same Parliament drawne up, and perfected. And is it possible, wee should conceive so ill of those reverend persons, as that they would erect a *Sabbath* in the one *Act*, and beat it downe so totally in the other: to tell us in the *Service-Booke*, that wee are bound to keepe a *Sabbath*, and that the time and day of Gods publike worship, is either pointed out in the *fourth Commandement*, or otherwise ordained by *D. vine* *Authoritie*; and in the selfe-same breath, to tell us, that there is neither *certaine time*, nor *definite number of dayes*, prescribed in Scripture, but all this left unto the *libertie* of the *Church*? I say, as formerly I said, it is impossible wee should thinke so ill of such Reverend persons: nor doe I thinke, that any will so thinke hereafter, when they have once considered the *non sequitur* of their owne Conclusions. As for the *Prayer* there used, wee may thus expound it, according to the *doctrine* and the *practice* both, of those very times; *viz.* that their intent and meaning was, to

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teach the people, to pray unto the Lord; to incline their hearts to keepe that Law, as farre as it contained the Law of Nature, and had beeene entertained in the Christian Church; as also to have mercie on them for the neglect thereof, in those holy dayes, which by the wiſdome and auſhoritie of his Church, had beeene ſet apart for Gods publike Service. Besides, this Prayer was then conceived, when there was no ſuſpition, that any would make uſe thereof, to introduce a Jewiſh Sabbath; but when men rather were inclined to the contrarie error, to take away thofe certayne and appointed times, Lords dayes, and other holy dayes, which by the wiſdome of the Church had beeene retained in the Reformation. The Anabaptiſts were ſtrongly bent that way, as before wee ſhew: and if wee looke into the Articles of our Church, wee ſhall then finde what ſpeciall care was taken, to ſappreſe their errores in other points, which had tooke footing, as it ſeemeſ, in this Church and Kingdome. Therefore the more likely is it, that this Clause was added, to crush their furious facies in this particular, of not hallowing certayne dayes and times to Gods publike Service. Yet I conceive withall, that had thofe Reverend Prelates foreſeen how much their pious purpose would have beeene abuſed, by wreſting it to introduce a Sabbath, which they never meant; they would have caſt their meaning in another mould:

(4) Proceed wee to the Reigne of Queene Elizabeth, that ſo much celebrated Princeſſe; and in the firſt place, wee ſhall meet with her Injunctions, published the firſt yeere of her Empire: in which, the Sunday is not onely counted with the other holy dayes; but labour, at ſometimes permitted; and which is more, enjoynd upon it: For thofe it pleaſed her to declare her will and pleaſure: ~~All the Duties of the publike and ſacred Service ſhall from henceforth celebrate and keepe their holy day, according to Gods holy wift and preaſure: that is, in hearing the word of God read and taught; in private and publike Prayers; in knellinging their anſwers unto God, and amende-~~

See Art. 26.
37,38,39.

Art. 20.

amendment of the ſame; in reconciling of themſelves charitably to their neighbours, where diſpleaſure hath beeene; in oftentimes receiving the Communion of the Bodie and Blood of Christ; in viſiting the Poore, and ſick; uſing all soberneſſe, and godly conuerſation. This ſeemeſ to be ſevere enough; but what followeth next? Yet notwithstanding, all Parsons, Vicars, and Curates ſhall teach and declare to their Parishioners, that they may with a ſafe and quiet Conſcience, after their Common Prayer, in the time of Harveſt, labour upon the holy and festiuaſ dayes, and ſave that thing which God hath ſent: And if, for any ſcrupulouſtie, or grudge of Conſcience, men ſhould ſuperiſtitionally abſtaine from working on theſe dayes, that then they ſhould grieviously offend and diſplease God. This makes it evident, that Queene Elizabeth in her owne particular, tooke not the Lords day for a Sabbath; or to be of a diſferent nature from the other holy dayes: nor was it taken ſo, by the whole Body of our Church, and State, in the firſt Parliament of her Reigne; what time it was enacted, That all and every person and persons in-^{1. Eliz. c. 1.} habitng within this Realme, and any other the Queenes Dominiſons, ſhall diligently and faithfully, having no lawfull or reasonable excuse to be abſent, endeavour themſelves to reſort to their Parish Church, or Chappell, accuſtomed; or upon reasonable leſt thereof, to ſome uſuall place where Common Prayer ſhall be uſed in ſuch time of leſt, upon every Sunday, and other dayes ordaineſ and uſed to be kept as holy dayes, and then and there to abide orderly and soberly, during the time of Common Prayer, Preaching, or other Service of God, upon paine of punishment, &c. This Law is ſtill in force, and ſtill like to be; and by this Law, the Sundayes and the holy dayes are alike regarded: Nor by the Law onely, but by the purpose and intent of holy Church, who in her publike Liturgie is as full and large for every one of the holy dayes, as for the Sunday, the Letanie excepted onely. For otherwise, by the rule and preſcript thereof, the fame Religious Offices are designed

designed for both, the same devout attendance required for both; and whatsoever else may make both equal. And therefore by this Statute, and the Common Prayer-Booke, wee are to keepe more *Sabbaths* then the *Lords day Sabbath*, or else none at all.

(5) Next looke we on the *Homilies*, part of the publicke monuments of the Church of *England*, set forth and authorized *an. 1562.* being the fourth of that Queenes reigne. In that entituled *Of the place and time of prayer*, wee shall finde it thus. *As concerning the time in which God hath appointed his people to assemble together solemnly, it doth appear by the fourth Commandement &c. And albeit this Commandement of God doth not binde Christian people so strakely to obserue and keep the utter ceremonies of the Sabbath day as it did the Jewes, as touching the so; bearing of works and labour in the time of great necessity, and as touching the precise keeping of the seventh day, after the manner of the Jewes: (for wee keepe now the first day, which is our *Sunday*, and make that our *Sabbath*, that is, our day of rest, in honour of our *Saviour Christ*, who as upon that day rose from death conquering the same most triumphantly.) Yet notwithstanding whatsoever is found in the Commandement appertaining to the law of nature, as a thing most godly, most just, and needfull for the setting forth of Gods glory, ought to bee retained and kept of all godly Christian people. And therefore by this Commandement we ought to have a time, as one day in the weeke, wherein we ought to rest yea from our lawfull and needfull works: For like as it appeareth by this Commandement, that no man in the six dayes ought to be slothfull and idle, but diligently to labour in that state wherein God hath set him, even so God hath given expresse charge to all men, that upon the Sabbath day, which is now our *Sunday*, they shold cease from all weekly and workday labour: to the intent that like as God himselfe wrought six dayes and rested the seventh, and blessed and sanctified it, and consecrated it to quietnesse and rest from labour; even*

even so Gods obedient people shold use the Sunday holily, & rest from their Common and daily busynesse, and also give themselves wholy to heavenly exercises of Gods true religion and service. So that God doth not onely command the obseruation of this holy day; but also by his owne example doth sturre and provoke us to the diligent keeping of the same, &c. Thus it may plainly appeare that Gods will and Commandement was to have a solemne time and standing day in the weeke, where in the people should come together, and have in remembrance his wonderfull benefits, and to render him thankes for them, as apperteineth to loving, kinde, and obedient people. This example and Commandement of God, the godly Christian people beganne to follow immedately after the Ascension of our Lord Christ, and beganne to choose them a standing day of the weeke to come together in: yet not the seaventh day, which the Jewes kept, but the *Lords day*, the day of the *Lords resurrection* the day after the seaventh day, which is the first day of the weeke, &c. Solthence which thens, Gods people hath alwayes in all Ages, without any gainsaying, used to come together on the *Sunday*, to celebrate and honour the *Lords blessed Name*, and carefully to keep that day in holy rest and quietnesse, both man, and woman, childe, servant and stranger. So farre the *Homilie*: and this is all thereof which is doctrinall. The residue consists in reprehension of two sorts of men: one of the which, if they had any busynesse to doe, though there were no extreme neede, would not spare the *Sunday*, but used all dayes alike, the holy dayes and worke-dayes all as one; the other so consumed the day in gluttony and drunkennesse, and such fleshly filthinesse, that as it is there said, the *Lord was more dishonoured and the Devil better served on the Sunday, then upon all the dayes in the weeke besides*.

(6) This saith the *Homily*, and this hath often beeene alleged, as well to prove a *Lords day Sabbath*, to bee allowed of by the doctrine of the Church of *England*; as at this present time, to iustifie the diobedience of those men,

who have refused to publish the Princes pleasure, in point of recreations. But this if well examined, will as little helpe them ; as *Lord have mercy upon us*, in the *Common Prayer booke*. For first is is here said, that there is no more of the fourth Commandement to bee retained and kept of good Christian people, then *whatsoever is found in it appertaining to the law of Nature*. But wee have proved before, that there is nothing in the fourth Commandement of the *law of Nature*, but that some time be set apart for Gods publick service : the precept, so farre forth, as it enjoynes *one day in heaven*, or the *seventh day*, precisely from the worlds creation, being avowed for *ceremoniall* by all kinde of writers. Secondly it is said, not that the *Lords day* was enjoyed by *Divine authority*, either by *Christ himselfe*, or his *Apostles*; but chosen for a standing day to come together in, by *godly Christian people*, immediately after the *Ascension* of our *Lord Christ* : If chose by them, then not enjoyed by the *Apostles* : if not till after the *Ascension* of our *Saviour Christ*, then not at all by him commanded. Thirdly, whereas they chose themselves a *standing day* in the weeke to come together in, they did not this by any *obligation* layed upon them by the fourth Commandement, but onely by a *voluntary following of Gods example*, and the *analogie or equity of Gods Commandement*, which was (they doe not say which is) that hee would have, [amongst the *Leuws*] a *solemne time and standing day in the weeke*, wherein the people should have in remembrance his wonderfull benefits, and render thanks to him for the same. For it is said ; that *this example and commandement of God*, the *godly Christian people beganne to follow after Christs ascension* : so that it seemes they might have chosen, whether they would have followed them, or not. Fourthly, when they had chose this day, which wee now observe, for their publicke meetings, they did not thanke themselves obliged by the fourth Commandement, to *forbeare worke and labour in time of great necessity*, or to the *precise keeping of the same*, after the *manner of the Leuws* : both which they must have done, had they conceived

conceived the keeping of one day in seaven, to be the *morall* part of the fourth *Commandement* ; and to oblige us now, no lesle, then it did them formerly, as some men have taught us. Now whereas some have drawne from hence these two Conclusions. First, that according to this *Homilie*, we ought to *keepe one day in seaven, by the fourth Commandement*; and secondly, that we must *spend it wholly in religious exercises*. I would faine know how those conclusions can be raised from the former premisses. Its true, the *Homilie* hath told us that by the fourth *Commandement* we ought to have a time, *as one day in the weeke*, wherein wee ought to rest from our needfull works. Where note, that there it is not said, that by the fourth *Commandement* we ought to have *one day in the weeke*, which is plaine and peremptory ; but that wee ought to have a time, *as one day in the weeke*, which was plainerly arbitrary. A time wee ought to have by the fourth *Commandement*, as being that part of it which perteines to the *law of Nature* : but for the next words *as one day in the weeke*, they are not there layd downe, as imposed on us by the law ; but onely instanced in, as settled at that time in the *Church of God*. So where it is affirmed in another place, that Gods will and commandement was to have a *solemne time and standing day in the weeke* ; wee grant indeed that so it was : and that the *godly Christian people* in the Primitive times, were easily induced to give God no lesle, then what hee formerly commanded. But had the meaning of the *Homilie* beeene this, that wee were bound to have a *standing day in the weeke*, by the fourth Commandement ; they would have plainly said, *it is Gods will and pleasure that it should bee so*, and not have told us what it was, in the times before. Its true, the *Homilie* hath told us, that wee should rest our selves, on *Sunday*, from our common busynesse, and *also give our selves wholie to heavenly exercises of Gods true religion and service*. Where note, it is not said, that wee should spend the day *wholly* in heavenly exercises ; for then there were no time allowed us to eat and drinke, which are mere naturall employments : but

that wee give our selves wholly, that is our whole selves body and soule, to that performance of those heavenly exercises, which are required of us in the way of true religion, and Gods publike service. It is accounted, as wee have formerly made plaine, to bee the ceremoniall part of the fourth Commandement, *quod fiat semel in qualibet bimoda; & quod fiat in una die tota, ista observatio; & quod per totam diem abstineatur ab operibus servilibus*: first the determining of the day, to bee one in seven; next that this one day wholly be so employed; and last of all, that all that day there bee an absolute cessation from all servile works. Therefore the spending ~~what~~ of one day in seven, being ceremoniall; comes not within the compasse of the *Homilie*: which would have no more of the fourth Commandement to bee kept amongst us, then what is appertaining to the law of *Nature*. Now it pertaines unto the law of *Nature*, that for the times appointed to Gods publicke worship, we wholly sequester our selves from all worldly businesses; *naturale est quod dominum dominum colimus, ab aliis abstineamus*, as *Tostatus* hath it: and then the meaning of the *Homilie* will be briefly this, that for those times which are appointed by the Church, for the assembly of Gods people, we should lay by our daily businesses, & all worldly thoughts, & wholly give our selves to the heavenly exercises of Gods true Religion and Service. But to encounter them at their own weapon, it is expressly said in the Act of Parliament about keeping *holy dayes*, that on the *dayes and times* appointed, as well the other *holy dayes*, as the *Sundayes*, Christians should cease from all kinde of labour, and only & wholly apply themselves to such *holy works* as appertaine to true Religion: the very same, with that delivered in the *Homilie*. If wholly in the *Homilie* must bee applied unto the *day*, then it must bee there: and then the *Saints dayes* and the other *holy dayes* must bee wholly spent, in religious exercises. When once we see them doe the one, wee will bethinke our selves of doing the other. As for the residue of that *Homilie* which consists in popular reprooves and exhortations, that concerns

In Exod. 20.
qu. 11.

3d. 13.

not us; in reference to the point in hand. The *Homilies*, those parts thereof especially which tend to the correction of manners, and reformation of abuses, were made agreeable to those times, wherein they were first published. If in those times, men made no difference between the *working day* & *holy day*, but kept their *faires* and *markets*, and bought and sold, and *rowed* and *ferried*, and *drove* and *carried*, and *rode* and *journeyed*, and did their other businesse, on the *Sunday*, as well as on the *other dayes*, when there was no such need but that they might have tarryed longer: they were the more to blame, no doubt, in trespassing so wilfully against the *Canons* of the *Church*, & *Acts* of *Parliament*, which had restrained many of the things there specified: The *Homilie* did well to reprove them for it. If on the other side, they spent the day in *ungodliness* and *filthiness*, in *gluttony* and *drunkeenesse*, and such like other crying sinnes, as are there particularly noted: the *Prelates* of the *Church* had very ill discharged their duetie, had they not tooke some course to have told them of it. But what is that to us, who doe not spend the *Lords day* in such *filthy fleshlienesse*, (what ever one malicious *Sycophant* hath affirmed therein): or what is that to *dancing*, *stroaring*, *leaping*, *visiting*, *may-games*, and *meetings of good neighbourhod*, or any other *recreation* not by law prohibited; being no such *ungodlie and filthie Acts* as are therein mentioned.

(7) Thus upon due search made, and full examination of all parties, we finde no *Lords day Sabbath* in the booke of *Homilies*: no nor in any writings of particular men, in more then 23 yeeres after the *Homilies* were published. I find indeed that in the yeere 1580 the Magistrates of the Cittie of *London* obtained from *Queene Elizabeth*, that playes and enterludes should no more bee acted on the *Sabbath day*, within the liberties of their Cittie. As also that in 83. on the 14 of *January* being *Sunday*, many were hurt, and eight killed outright by the iuddaine falling of the *Scaffles* in *Paris-garden*. This shewes that *Enterludes* and *Bearc-baitings* were then permitted on the *Sunday*, and so they

they were a long time after, though not within the Cittie of London: which certainly had not beeene suffered, had it beeene then conceived that Sunday was to bee accounted for a Sabbath. But in the yeere 1595, some of that faction which before had laboured with small profit, to overthrow the Hierarchy and government of this Church of England; now set themselves on worke to ruinate all the orders of it: to beate downe at one blow *all dayes* and times, which by the *wisdom* and *anibarity* of the Church, had beeene appointed for Gods service, and in the steed thereof to erect a Sabbath, of their owne devising. These Sabbath *speculations*, and presbyterian directions, as mine Author calls them, they had beeene hammering more then ten yecres before; though they produced them not till now: and in producing of them now, they introduced, saith hee, a *more then either Iewish or Popish superstition into the Land, to the no small blemish of our Christian profession, and scandall of the true servants of God, and therewith doctrine most erroneous, dangerous, and Antichristian.* Of these, the principall was one Doctor Bound, who published first his Sabbath Doctrines Anno 1595, and after with additions to it and enlargements of it, Anno 1606. Wherin he hath affirmed in generall over all the booke, that the Commandement of *sanctifying every seventh day, as in the Moysaicall decalogue, is naturall, morall, and perpetuall: that where all other things in the Iewish Church were so changed, that they were cleane taken away, as the Priesthood, the sacrifices, and the Sacraments; this day, the Sabbath, was so chaged, that it still remaineth.* p. 91: *that there is great reason why we Christians should take our selves as straitly bound to rest upon the Lords day, as the Iewes were upon their Sabbath; for being one of the morall Commandments, it bindeth us, as well as them, being all of equall authority.* p. 247. And for the Rest upon this Day, that it must be a notable and singular Rest, a most carefull, exact, and precise Rest, after another manner than men were accustomed, p. 124. Then for particulars; no buying of Victuals, Flesh or Fish,

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Rogers in preface to the Articles.

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and grew at last so strongly possessed therewith, that in the end they would not willingly be perswaded to conceive otherwise thereof, than at first they did; or thinke they swallowed downe the Hooke, when they tooke the Bait. An Hooke indeed, which had so fastned them to those men, who love to fish in troubled waters; that by this artifice, there was no small hope conceived amongst them, to fortifie their side, and make good that cause, which till this trimme Deceit was thought of, was almost growne desperate. Once, I am sure, that by this meanes, the Brethren, who before endeavoured to bring all Christian Kings and Princes under the yoke of their Presbyteries; made little doubt to bring them under the command of their Sabbath Doctrines. And though they failed of that applauded paritie, which they so much aimed at, in the advancing of their Elderships; yet hoped they, without more adoe, to bring all higher Powers, what ever, into an equall ranke with the common people, in the obseruance of their Jewish Sabbatharian rigours. So Doctor Bound declares himself, p. 171. „ The Magistrate, saith hee, and Governour in „ authoritie, how high soever, cannot take any priviledge „ to himselfe, whereby he might be occupied about world- „ ly businesse, when other men should rest from labour. It seemes, they hoped to see the greatest Kings and Princes make suit unto their Consistorie for a Dispensation, as often as the great Affaires of State, or what cause soever, induced them otherwise to spend that Day, or any part or parcell of it, than by the new Sabbath Doctrine had beeene permitted. For the endeering of the which, as formerly to endeere their Elderships, they spared no place, or Text of Scripture, where the word Elder did occurre; and without going to the Heralds, had framed a Pedigree thereof, from Iethro, from Noahs Arke, and from Adam finally: so did these men proceed in their new Devices, publishing out of holy Writ, both the antiquitie and authoritie of their Sabbath day: No passage of Gods Booke unransackt, where there was mention of a Sabbath, whether the legall Sabbath, charged

ged the Jewes, or the spirituall Sabbath of the Soule, from fine, which was not fitted and applyed to the present purpose: though, if examined, as it ought, with no better reason, than Pavant illi, & non pavam ego, was by an ignorant Priest alledged from Scripture, to prove that his Parishioners ought to pave the Chancell. Yet, upon confidence of these prooves, they did alreadie begin to sing Vittoria; especially, by reason of the entertainment which the said Doctrines found with the common people. For, thus the Doctor boasts himselfe, in his second Edition, anno 606. as before was said, *Many godly learned both in their Preachings, Writings, and Disputations, did concurre with him in that argument; and, that the lives of many Christians, in many places of the Kingdome, were framed according to his Doctrine, p. 61.* Particularly, in the Epistle to the Reader, that within few yeeres, three severall profitable Treatises successively were written, by three godly learned Preachers, [Greenchams was one, whose ever were the other two:] that in the mouth of two or three witnesses, the doctrine of the Sabbath might be established. *Egregiam vero laudem, & spolia ampla!*

(8) But whatsoever cause hee had thus to boast himselfe, in the successe of his new doctrines; the Church, I am sure, had little cause to rejoice thereat. For what did follow hereupon but such monstrous paradoxes, and those delivered in the pulpit, as would make every good man tremble at the hearing of them? First, as my Author tells mee, it was preached at a market towne in Oxfordshire, that to doe any servile worke or busynesse on the Lords day, was as great a sinne, as to kill a man or commit adultery: Secondly, preached in Somerset-shire, that to throw a bowle on the Lords day was as great a sinne, as to kill a man: Thirdly, in Norfolke, that to make a feast or dresse a wedding dinner on the Lords day, was as great a sinne; as for a Father to take a knife and cut his childe's throate: Fourthly, in Suffolke, that to ring more bells then one, on the Lords day, was as great a sinne as to commit murder. I adde what once I heard

Rogers in pre-
face to the Ar-
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they were a long time after, though not within the Cittie of London: which certaintely had not beeene suffered, had it beeene then conceived that Sunday was to bee accounted for a Sabbath. But in the yeere 1595, some of that faction which before had laboured with small profit, to overthrow the Hierarchy and government of this Church of England; now set themselves on worke to ruinate all the orders of it: to beate downe at one blow all dayes and times, which by the *wisdom* and *anibarity* of the Church, had beeene appointed for Gods service, and in the steed thereof to erect a Sabbath, of their owne devising. These Sabbath speculations, and presbyterian directions, as mine Authour calls them, they had beeene hammering more then ten yeceres before; though they produced them not till now: and in producing of them now, they introduced, faith hee, a *more then either Iewish or Popish superstition into the Land, to the no small blemish of our Christian profession, and scandall of the true servants of God, and therewith doctrine most erroneous, dangerous, and Antichristian.* Of these, the principall was one Doctor *Bound*, who published first his *Sabbath Doctrines Anno 1595*, and after with additions to it and enlargements of it, *Anno 1606*. Wherein he hath affirmed in generall over all the booke, that the Commandement of *sanctifying every seventh day, as in the Moysaicall decalogue, is naturall, morall, and perpetuall: that where all other things in the Iewish Church were so changed, that they were cleane taken away, as the Priesthood, the sacrifices, and the Sacraments; this day, the Sabbath, was so chaged, that it still remaineth.* p. 91: *that there is great reason why we Christians should take our selves as straitly bound to rest upon the Lords day, as the Iewes were upon their Sabbath; for being one of the morall Commandments, it bindeth us, as well as them, being all of equall authority.* p. 247. And for the Rest upon this Day, that it must be a notable and singular Rest, a most carefull, exact, and precise Rest, after another manner than men were accustomed, p. 124. Then for particulars; no buying of Victuals, Flesh or Fish, Bread

Bread or Drinke, 158. no Carriers to travaile on that Day, 160. nor Parkmen, or Drovers, 162. Schollers not to studie the liberall Arts; nor Lawyers to consult the Case, and peruse mens Evidences, 163. Sergeants, Apparitours, and Summers, to be restrained from executing their Offices, 164. Justices not to examine Causes, for preservation of the Peace, 166. no man to travaile on that Day, 192. that Ringing of more Bells than one, that Day, is not to be justified, p. 202. No solemne Feasts to be made on it, 206. nor *Widding Dinners*, 209. With a permission notwithstanding to Lords, Knights, and Gentlemen, (hee hoped to finde good welcome for this dispensation) p. 211. all lawfull Pleasures, and honest Recreations, as *Shooting, Fencing, Bowling*, (but *Bowling*, by his leave, is no lawfull pleasure for all sorts of people) which are permitted on other dayes, were on this Day to be forborne, 202. no man to speake or talke of Pleasures, p. 272. or any other worldly matter, 275. Most Magisterially determined; indeed, more like a *Jewish Rabbin*, than a *Christian Doctor*. Yet *Jewish* and *Rabbinnicall* though his Doctrine were, it carried a faire face and shew of Pietie, at the least in the opinion of the common people; and such, who stood not to examine the true grounds thereof, but tooke it up, on the appearance; such, who did judge thereof, not by the workmanship of the Stiffe, but the glosse and colour. In which, it is most strange to see, how fuddainly men were induced not onely to give way unto it, but without more adoe, to abett the same; till in the end, and that in very little time, it grew the most bewitching Errour, the most popular Deceit, that ever had beeene set on foot in the Church of England. And verily I perswade my selfe, that many an honest and well-meaning man, both of the *Clergie* and the *Laitie*, either because of the appearance of the thing it selfe, or out of some opinion of those men, who first endeavoured to promote it; became exceedingly affected towards the same, as taking it to be a Doctrine sent downe from Heaven, for encrease of Pietie: So easily did they beleieve it, and

and grew at last so strongly possessed therewith, that in the end they would not willingly be perswaded to conceive otherwise thereof, than at first they did; or thinke they swallowed downe the Hooke, when they tooke the Bait. An Hooke indeed, which had so fastned them to those men, who love to fish in troubled waters; that by this artifice, there was no small hope conceived amongst them, to fortifie their side, and make good that cause, which till this trimme Deceit was thought of, was almost growne desperate. Once, I am sure, that by this meanes, the *Brethren*, who before endeavoured to bring all Christian Kings and Princes under the yoke of their *Presbyteries*; made little doubt to bring them under the command of their *Sabbath Doctrines*. And though they failed of that applauded paritie, which they so much aimed at, in the advancing of their *Elderships*; yet hoped they, without more adoe, to bring all *higher Powers*, what ever, into an equall ranke with the *common people*, in the obseruance of their *Jewish Sabbatarian rigours*. So Doctor *Bound* declares himselfe, p. 171. „ The *Magistrate*, saith hee, and *Gouvernour* in „ authoritie, how high soever, cannot take any priviledge „ to himselfe, whereby he might be occupied about world- „ ly busynesse, when other men should rest from labour. It seemes, they hoped to see the greatest Kings and Princes make suit unto their *Consistorie* for a Dispensation, as often as the great Affaires of State, or what cause soever, induced them otherwise to spend that *Day*, or any part or parcell of it, than by the new *Sabbath Doctrine* had beeene permitted. For the endeering of the which, as formerly to endeere their *Elderships*, they spared no place, or Text of Scripture, where the word *Elder* did occurre; and without going to the *Heralds*, had framed a Pedigree thereof, from *Iethro*, from *Noahs Arke*, and from *Adam* finally: so did these men proceed in their new Devices, publishing out of holy Writ, both the antiquitie and authoritie of their *Sabbath day*: No passage of Gods Booke unransackt, where there was mention of a *Sabbath*, whether the legall *Sabbath*, char- ged

ged the *Jewes*, or the *Spirituall Sabbath* of the Soule, from *frame*, which was not fitted and applyed to the present purpose: though, if examined, as it ought, with no better reason, than *Paveant illi, & non paveam ego*, was by an ignorant Priest alledged from Scripture, to prove that his Parishioners ought to *pave* the Chancell. Yet, upon confidence of these proofes, they did alreadie begin to sing *Victoria*; especially, by reason of the entertainment which the said Doctrines found with the common people. For, thus the Doctor boasts himselfe, in his second Edition, anno 606. as before was said, *Many godly learned both in their Preachings, Writings, and Disputations, did concurre with him in that argument*; and, *that the lives of many Christians, in many places of the Kingdome, were framed according to his Doctrine*, p. 61. Particularly, in the Epistle to the Reader, that *within few yeres, three severall profitable Treatises successively were written, by three godly learned Preachers, [Greenehams was one, whose ever were the other two:] that in the mouth of two or three witnesses, the doctrine of the Sabbath might bee established. Egregiam vero laudem, & spolia ampla!*

(8) But whatsoever cause hee had thus to boast himselfe, in the successe of his new doctrines; the Church, I am sure, had little cause to rejoice thereat. For what did follow hereupon but such monstrous paradoxes, and those delivered in the pulpit, as would make every good man tremble at the hearing of them? First, as my Author tells mee, it was preached at a market towne in *Oxfordshire*, that to *doe any servile Worke or busynesse* on the Lords day, was *as great a sinne*, as to kill a man or commit adultery: Secondly, preached in *Somerset-shire*, that to *throw a bowle* on the Lords day was *as great a sinne*, as to kill a man: Thirdly, in *Norfolke*, that to *make a feast or dresse a wedding dinner* on the Lords day, was *as great a sinne*; as for a Father to take a knife and cut his childe's throat: Fourthly, in *Suffolke*, that to *ring more bells then one*, on the Lords day, was *as great a sinne as to commit murder*. I adde what once I heard.

heard my selfe, at Sergeant's Inn in Fleet-streete, about five yeeres since, that temporall deasb, was at this day to be inflicted, by the Law of God, on the Sabbath-breaker, on him, that on the Lord's day did the works of his daily calling: with a grave application, unto my masters of the Law, that if they did their ordinary workes on the Sabbath day, in reking fees and giving Counsell, they should consider what they did deserve by the Law of God. And certainly these and the like conclusions cannot but follow most directly, on the former principles. For that the fourth Commandement bee plainly morall, obliging us as straitly as it did the Jewes: and that the Lord's day bee to bee observed according to the prescripts of that Commandment: it must needs bee, that every willfull breach thereof, is of no lower nature, then Idolatrie, or blaspheming of the Name of God, or any other deadly sinne against the first table; and therefore questionlesse as great as murder or adultery, or any sin against the second. But to goe forwards where I left, my Author whome before I spake of, being present when the Suffolke Minister was convanted, for his so lewd and impious doctrine, was the occasion that those *Sabbatarian* errors and impieties, were first brought to light, and to the knowledge of the state. On which discovery, as hee tells us, this good ensued, that the said booke of the Sabbath were called in, and forbidden to bee printed and made common. Archbishop Wherquift by his letters and visitations, did the one, Anno 1599. and Sir John Popham Lord Chiefe Justice, did the other Anno 1600, at Burie in Suffolke. Good remedies indeed, had they beeene soone inough applied: yet not so good as those which formerly were applied to Thacker and his fellow, in the aforesaid towne of Burie, for publishing the booke of Browns against the service of the Church. Nor was this all the fruise of so bad a doctrine. For by inculcating to the people these new Sabbath speculations, teaching that that day only was of Gods appointment, and all the rest observed in the Church of England a remnant of the will-worship in the Church of Rome: the other

ther holy dayes in this Church established were so shrewdly shaken, that till this day they are not well recovered of the blow then given. Nor came this on the by, or besides their purpose; but as a thing that specially was intended from the first beginning; from the first time that ever these Sabbath doctrines peeped into the light. For Doctor Bound, the first sworne servant of the Sabbath, hath in his first edition thus declared himselfe, that hee sees not where ^{P. 31.} the Lord hath given any authority to his Church, ordinarily and perpetually to sanctifie any day, except that which hee hath sanctified himselfe: and makes it an especiall argument against the goodnessse of the religion in the Church of Rome, that to the seventh day they have ioyned ^{P. 32.} so many other dayes, and made them equall with the seventh, if not superiour thereto, as well in the solemnity of divine offices, as restraint from labour. So that wee may perceive by this, that their intent from the beginning, was to cry downe the holy dayes, as superstitious, Popish ordinances: that so their new found Sabbath being placed alone (and Sabbath now it must bee called) might become more eminent. Nor were the other, though more private effects thereof, of lesse dangerous nature: the people being so insnared with these new devises, and pressed with rigours more than Jewish, that certaine-ly they are in as bad condition, as were the Israe-lites of old, when they were Captivated and kept under by the Scribes and Pharises. Some I have knowne, (for in this point I will say nothing without good assurance,) who in a furious kinde of zeale like the madde Prophetesse in the Poer, have runne into the open streetes, yea and searched private houses too, to looke for such as spent those houres on the Lord's day in lawfull pastimes, which were not destinate by the Church to Gods publicke service: and having found them out, scattered the company, brake the instruments; and if my memory faile me not, the musicians; & which is more, they thought that they were bound in conscience so to doe. Others, that will not suffer either baken

or rost to be made ready for their dinners, on their *Sabbath day*, lest by so doing they should *eate and drinke their owne damnation*; according to the doctrine preached unto them. Some, that upon the *Sabbath*, will not sell a pint of wine, or the like Commoditie: though wine was made by God, nor onely for mans *often infirmities*, but to make glad his heart, and refresh his spirits, and therefore no lesse requisite on the *Lords day*, then on any other. Others, which have refused to carrie provender to an horse, on the supposed *Sabbath day*, though our Redeemer thought it no impiecie on the true *Sabbath day* indeed, to leade poore Cattell to the water: which was the motive and occasion of *M. Brerewoods learned Treatise*. So for the female sex, maid servants I have met with some two or three, who though they were content to dress their meate upon the *Sabbath*, yet by no meanes would be perswaded either to wash their dishes, or make cleane their kitchen. But that which most of all affects mee, is, that a Gentlewoman, at whose house I lay in *Leicester*, the last Northerne Progresse anno 1634, expressed a great desire to see the King and Queene who were then both there. And when I proferd her my service, to satisfie that loyall longing, shee thanked mee, but refusid the favour, *because it was the Sabbath day*. Unto so strange a bondage are the people brought, that as before I said, a greater never was imposed on the *leues* themselves, what time the consciences of that people were pinned most closely on the sleeves of the *Scribes* and *Pharises*.

(9.) But to goe forwards in my storie, it came to passe for all the care before remembred, that having such a plausible and faire pretence, as sanctifying a day unto the Lord, and keeping a Commandement that had long beene silenced; it got strong footing in the Kingdome, as before is said: the rather because many things, which were indeed strong avocations from Gods publicke service, were as then permitted. Therefore it pleased King *James*, in the first entrance of his reigne, so farre to condescend unto them, as to take off such things which seemed most offensive. To which

which intent hee signified his royll pleasure by Proclamation dated at *T beobalds* May 7. 1603, that Whereas he had beene informed, that there had been in former times a great neglect in keeping the *Sabbath day*; for better obseruing of the same, and for avoyding of all impious prophanation of it, he straightly charged and commanded that no Beare-baiting, Bull-baiting, enterludes, common playes, or other like disordered or unlawfull exercises or pastimes, bee frequented, kept or used at any time hereafter upon any *Sabbath day*. Not that his purpose was to debarre himselfe of *lawfull pleasures* on that day, but to prohibit such *disordered and unlawfull pastimes*, whereby the Common people were withdrawne from the congregation: they being onely to bee reckoned for *common playes*, which at the instant of their *Aeting* or *representing*, are studyed onely for the entertainment of the *Common people*, on the *publicke Theaters*. Yet did not this, though much, content them. And therefore in the *conference at Hampton Court*, it seemed good to *D. Reynolds* (who had beeene made a partie in the cause) to touch upon the prophanation of the *Sabbath*, (for so bee called it) and contempt of his *e Majesties proclamation made for the reforming of that abuse*; of which hee earnestly desired a *straicter course*, for reformation thereof: to which hee found a generall and unanimous assent. Nor was there an aslent onely, and nothing done. For presently in the following *Convocation*, it pleased the *Prelates* there assembled, to revive so much of the *Queenes Injunction* before remembred, as to them seemed fitting, and to incorporate it into the *Canons* then agreed of; onely a little alteration, to make it more agreeable to the present times, being used therein. Thus then they ordered in the *Canon* for due celebration of *Sundayes*, and *holy dayes*. viz. All manner of persons ^{ca. 13.} within the *Church of England* shall from hencesorth celebreate and keepe the *Lords day* commonly called *Sunday* and other *holy dayes*, according to Gods *holy will* and pleasure, and the orders of the *Church of England* prescribed in that behalfe, i. e. in hearing the *word of God* reade and taught.

in private and publicke prayers, in acknowledging their offenses to God, and amendment of the same, in reconciling themselves charitably to their neighbours where displeasure had beene, in oftentimes receiving the Communion of the Body and Blood of Christ, using all godly and sober conversation. The residue of the said *injunction*, touching worke in harvest; it seemed fit unto them not to touch upon; leaving the same to stand or fall, by the statute of King Edward the sixt before remembred. A *Canon* of an excellent composition. For by *enjoyning godly and sober conversation*, and *diligent repaire to Church to heare the Word of God and receive the Sacrament*, they stopped the course of that prophanenesse, which formerly, had beeene complained of: and by their ranking of the *holy dayes* in equall place, and height, with *Sunday*, and limiting the celebration of the same, unto the *Orders in that case prescried by the Church of England*; shewed plainly their dislike of those *Sabbath doctrines*, which had beeene late lie set on foote; to the dishonour of the Church, and diminution of her authoritie in destinating other dayes to the service of God, than their new *Saint Sabbath*. Yet did not this, the Churches care, either so satisfie their desires, or restraine the follies of those men, who had embraced the *new Sabbath doctrines*; but that they still went forwards to advance that busynesse, which was now made a part of the common cause: no booke being published by that partie, either by way of *Catechisme*, or *Comment on the ten Commandments*, or morall pietie, or systematicall divinity, of all which, these last times have produced too many; wherein the *Sabbath* was not prestid upon the consciences of Gods people, with violence, as formerly with authority upon the *loues*. And hereunto they were encouraged a great deale the rather, because in *Ireland*, what time his Majesties Commissioners were employed, about the settling of that Church, Anno 1615. there passed an *Article*, which much confirmed them in their Courses, and hath beeene often since alleged to justifie both them and their proceedings.

dings. The article is this. *The first day of the weeke which is the Lords day is wholie to bee dedicated to the service of God; and therefore wee are bound therein to rest from our common and daily busynesse, and to bestow that leasure upon holy exercises both private and publicke*. What moved his Majesties Commissioners to this strict austertie, that I cannot say: but sure I am, that till that time, the *Lords day* never had attained such credit, as to bee thought an *Article of the Faith*, though of some mens fancies. Nor was it like to bee of long continuance, it was so violently followed: the whole booke being now called in, and in the place thereof, the *Articles of the Church of England* confirmed by Parliament, in that Kingdome, Anno 1634.

(10) Nor was this all the fruit neither of such dangerous doctrines, that the *Lords day* was growne into the reputation of the *Jewish Sabbath*: but some that built on their foundations, and ploughed with no other then their heifers, endeavoured to bring backe againe the *Jewish Sabbath*, as that which is expressly mentioned in the fourth Commandement; and abrogate the *Lords day* for altogether, as having no foundation in it, nor warrant by it. Of these, one *Thraske* declared himselfe, for such, in King James his time, and therewithall tooke up another *Jewish doctrine* about meates and drinke: as in the time of our dreade Soveraigne now being, *Theophilus Braborne* grounding himselfe on the so much applauded doctrine of the *morality of the Sabbath*; maintained that the *Jewish Sabbath* ought to bee observed, and wrot a large booke in defence thereof, which came into the world 1632. For which their *Jewish doctrines*, the first received his censure in the *Starre-Chamber*, and what became of him I know not: the other had his doome in the *High-Commission*, and hath since altered his opinion, being misguided onely by the principles of some noted men, to which hee thought hee might have trusted. Of these I have here spoke together, because the ground of their opinions, so far as it concerned the *Sabbath*, were

were the very same; they onely making the conclusions, which of necessitie must follow from the former premisses: just as the *Brownists* did before, when they abominated the Communion of the Church of *England*, or the *Puritan* principles. But to proceede. This of it selfe had beeene sufficient to bring all to ruine, but this was not all. Not only *Indaisme* did beginne, but *Papery* tooke great occasion of increase, by the precisenesse of some Magistrates and Mi-
nisters in leveral places of this Kingdome, in hindring people from their recreations on the *Sunday*: the Papists in this Realme being thereby perswaded that no honest mirth or recreation was tolerable in our religion. Which being noted by King *James*, in his progresse through *Lancashire*, it pleased his Majestie to set out his Declaration, *May 24. Anno 1618.* the Court being then at *Greenewich*, to this effect, that for his good peoples lawfull recreations his pleasure was, that after the end of divine service, they should not be disturbed, letted or discouraged, from any lawfull recreations; such as *dancing*, either men or women, *Archery* for men, *leaping*, *vaulting*, or any other such *harmelesse recreations*: nor from having of *May-games*, *Whitsun-Ales*, or *Morrice-dances*, and setting up of *May-poles*, or other sports therewith used; so as the same bee had in due and convenient time, without impediment or let of divine service: and that women should have leave to carrie rushes to the Church, for the decoring of it, according to their old custome: withall prohibiting all unlawfull Games to bee used on the *Sundayes* onely, as *beare-baiting*, *bull-baiting*, *enterludes*, and at all times, in the meaner sort of people, by law prohibited, *bowling*. A Declaration which occasioned much noysse and clamour; and many scandalls spreade abroad, as if these Counsellors had been put into that Princes head, by some great Prelates, which were then of most power about him. But in that point they might have satisfied themselves, that this was no *Court-doctrine*: no new-divinity; which that learned Prince had beeene taught in *England*.

K. James De-
clarat.

England. He had declared himselfe before, when he was King of the *Scots* onely, to the selfe-same purpose: as may appeare in his *Basilicon Doron*, published anno 1598. This was the first Blow, in effect, which had beeene given, in all his time, to the new *Lords-Day-Sabbath*, then so much applauded.

(11) For howsoever, as I said, those who had entertained these *Sabbatarian Principles*, spared neither care nor paines to advance the busynesse, by being *instant in season*, and *out of season*, by publike Writings, private Preachings, and clandestine insinuations, or whatsoever other meanes might tend to the promotion of this *Catholike cause*: yet finde wee none that did oppose it in a publike way, though there were many that disliked it: Onely one M. *Loc*, of the Church of *Exeter*, declared himselfe in his *Effigiationis Sabbatismi*, anno 1606, to be of different judgement from them; and did lay downe indeed the truest and most justifiable Doctrine of the *Sabbath*, of any Writer in that time. But being written in the *Latine Tongue*, it came not to the peoples hands: many of those which understood it, never meaning, to let the people know the Contents thereof. And whereas, in the yeere 1603, at the Commencement held in *Cambridge*, this *Thesis*, or Proposition, *Dies Dominicus ntitur Verbo Dei*, was publikely maintained by a Doctor there, and by the then *Vicer-
Chancellor* so determined; neither the following Doctors there, or any in the other Universitie, that I can heare of, did ever put up any *Antithesis*, in opposition thereunto. At last, some foure yeeres after his Majesties *Declaration* before remembred, anno 1622. Doctor *Prideaux*, his Majesties Professor for the Universitie of *Oxon*, did, in the publike *Act*, declare his judgement in this point, *de Sabbatho*; which afterwards, in the yeere 1625, he published to the World, with his other Lectures. Now, in this Speech, or *Determination*, hee did thus resolve it. First, That the *Sabbath* was not instituted in the first Creation of the World; nor ever kept by any of the ancient Patriarkes, who lived

before the Law of Moses: therefore, no Morall and personal Precept, as the others are, Sect. 3. Secondly, That the sanctifying of one day in seven, is ceremoniall onely, and obliged the Jewes; not Morall to oblige us Christians to the like observance, Sect. 3. & 4. Thirdly, That the Lords day is founded onely on the Authoritie of the Church, guided therein by the practice of the Apostles: not on the former Commandement, which in the 7. Section he entincketh a Scandalous Doctrine; nor any other authoritie in holy Scripture, Sect. 5. & 7. Fourthly, That the Church hath full authorissee to change the day, though such authoritie be not fit to be put in practice, Sect. 7. Fifthly, That in the celebration of it, there is no such ressission from the workes of labour required of us, as was exacted of the Jewes: but that wee lawfully may dresse Mear, proportionable unto every mans estate; and doe such other things, as be no hinderance to the publike Service, appointed for the day, Sect. 8. Sixthly, That on the Lords day all Recreations whatsoever are to be allowed, which honestly may refresh the spirits, and encrease mutuall love and neighbour-hood amongst us: and, that the Names whereby the Jewes did use to call their Festivals (wherof the Sabbath was the chief) were borrowed from an Hebrew word, which signifies to *Dance*, and to *make merry*, or *rejoyce*. And lastly, that it appertaines to the Christian Magistrate, to order and appoint, what Pastimes, on the Lords day, are to be permitted, and what prohibited: not unto every private person, much lesse to *every mans raho Zeale*, as his owne words are, *who out of a schismatical Separation*, (debarring men from lawfull Pastimes) doth incline to *Judaisme*, Sect. 8. This was the summe and substance of his resolution, then: which, as it gave content unto the founder and the better part of the Assembly; so it did infinitely flomacke and displease the greater numbers, such as were formerly possessed with the other Doctrines: though they were wiser, than to make it a publike Quarrell. Only so pleased M. Bifield of Surrey, in his Reply to a Discourse of M. Brerwood, of

Gresham

Gresham Colledge, anno 1531. to taxe the Doctor, as a spreader of wicked Doctrine; and much to marvell with himselfe, how either he durst be so bold to say, or having said it, P. 161. could be suffered to put it forth, viz. That so to establish the Lords day on the fourth Commandement, were to incline too much to *Judaisme*: This, the said M. Bifield thinkes to be a foule aspersion on this famous Church. But in so thinking, I conceive, that he confieth more his owne opinion, and his private interest, than any publike maintenance of the Churches cause; which was not injured by the Doctor, but defended rather. But to proceed, or rather to goe a helle? About a yeare before the Doctor thus declared his judgement, one Thos. Broad, of Gloucester, shire, had published something in this kind: wherin, to speake my minde thereof, he rather shewed, that he disliked those Sabbath Doctrines, than durst disprove them. And before either, M. Brerwood, whom before I named, had writ a learned Treatise about the Sabbath, on a particular occasion there- in mentioned; but published it was not, till after both, anno 1629. Adde here, to joyne them all together, that in the Schooles at Oxon, anno 1628. it was maintained by Doctor Robinson, now Archdeacon of Gloucester; viz. *Ludos Recreations gratia in die Dominico, non esse prohibitos Divina Lege*; That Recreations on the Lords day, were not at all prohibited by the Word of God.

(12) As for our neighbour Church of Scotland; as they proceeded not at first with that mature deliberation, in the reforming of that Church, which had beeene here observed with us; so did they runne upon a Course of Reformation, which after was thought fitting to be reformed. The Queene was young, and absent, in the Court of France; the Regent was a desolate Widow, a Stranger to that Nation, and not well obeyed: So that the people there, possessed by *Choze*, and other of their Teachers, tooke the cause in hand; and went that way, which came most neare unto Geneva, where this *Choze* had lived. Among the first things wherewithall they were offended, were the

Proceedings
at Perth.

Holy dayes: These, in their Booke of Discipline, anno 1560: they condemned at once; particularly, the observation of *Holy dayes*, entituled by the names of *Saints*; the Feasts of *Christmase*, *Crucifixion*, *Eyparbie*, the *Purification*, and others of the *Virgin Mary*; all which they ranked amongst the *abominacions of the Roman Religion*, as *havinge ymber commandementz* nor *assurance in the word of God*. But having brought this Booke to be subscribed by the *Lords of Secret Counsail*, it was first rejected: some of them giving it the Title of *Devote Imaginations*; where-

*caue, Hist. of
Scotl. p. 523.*

of *Caues complaines*. Yet notwithstanding, on they went, another law prevailed (for in the middle of the Tumults, *the Queenes Regent* died), and did not onely put downe all the *Holy dayes*, the *Lords day* excepted; but when an *ynpose* had been made in *Edinburgh*, about a *Robin Hood*, or a *Whisdon Lord*, they of the *Consistorie* excommunicated the whole multitude. Now, that the *Holy dayes* were put downe, may appeare by this: That in the yere 1566. when the *Confession of the Reformation* Churches was propoised unto them, they generally approved the same; save that they liked not of those *Holy dayes*, which were there retained. But whosoever they intended, and howsoever they had utterly suppressed those *dayes*, which were entituled by the names of particular *Saints*; yet they could never so prevale, but that the people would certaine some memorie of the two great and principall Feasts of Christ's *Naturre* and *Resurreccyon*. For in the yere 1575. *Complaint* was made unto the *Rector*, how in *Dunfreis* they had conveyed the *Reader* to the *Church* with *Taber* and *Whisell*, to reade *Prayers* all the *holy dayes* of *Zule*, or *Christmase*. Thereupon *complaints* was made in an *Assembly of the Church* of *Wicklowe*, that the *Ministers* should at *Passage*, *at Pasche* or *Zule*, or other like *superstitious* times, under paine of *excommunication*, no *doct* from therefrom. Anno 1575. it was complained, of to his Majestie, That *Pasche* and *Zule* were superstitiously observed in *Irele*, and about

Dunfreis:

Dunfreis: and in the yeere 1592, the *Act of the Queenes Regent* granting licence to keepe the said two feasts, was by them repealed. Yet finde wee by the *Bishop of Brechin*, in his discourse of the *Proceedings at the Synod of Perth*, that notwithstanding all the *Acts Civill*, and *Ecclesiasticall*, made against the superstitious observation and prophane abuse of *Zule day*, the people could never bee induced to labour on that day: and wherefoever *Divisne service* was done that day, as in townes which have alwaies morning and evening *Prayers*, they were perceiued to resort in greater numbers on that day, then on any other to the *Church*. As for King *James* of *happie memorie*, hee did not onely keepe the said great festivalls from his youth as there is said; but wished them to bee kept by all his subjects, yet without abuse; and in his *Basilicon Doron* published *Anno 1598*, thus declares himselfe; that *without superstition playes and lawfull games may bee used in May, and good cheere at Christmase*. Now on the other side, as they had quite put downe those *daies*, which had beeene dedicated by the *Church* to religious meetings: so they appointed others of their owne authoritie. For in their *booke of discipline* before remembred, it was thus decreed, viz., That in every notable towne, a day, besides the *Sunday* should bee appointed, weekly, for *Sermons*: that during the time of *Sermon*, the day should bee kept free from all exercise of labour, as well by the master, as by the *Servant*: as also that every day [in the said great townes] there be either *Sermon*, or *Prayers*, with reading of the *Scriptures*. So that it seemeth, they onely were afraid of the name of *holy dayes*, and were contented well enough, with the thing it selfe. As for the *Lords day*, in that *Kingdome*, I finde not that it had attained unto the name or nature of a *Sabbath day*, untill that doctrine had beeene set on foote amongst us in *England*. For in the *booke of discipline*, set out as formerly was said in *660*, they call it by no other name then *Sunday*: ordaining, that upon fourte *Sundays* in the yeere, which are therein specified, the *Sacrament*

erament of the Lords Supper should bee administred to the people: and in the yeere 1592, an Act of King James the third about the Sabbath, and other Vigills to bee kept holy from *Evening to Evening*: was annulled and abrogated. Which plainly shewes that then they thought not of a Sabbath. But when the Sabbath doctrine had beeene raised in England, anno 1595, as before was said, it found a present entertainment with the Brethren there; who had before protestted in their publicke writings to our Puritans here, that *both their causes were most nearely linked together*, and thereupon, they both tooke up the name of Sabbath, and imposed the rigour: yet so, that they esteeme it lawfull to hold fasts thereon, *quod sapientia in Ecclesia non solum Scientia factum est*; and use it often in that Church; which is quite contrary unto the nature of a Sabbath. And on the other side they deny it to be the weekly festivall of the *resurrection*, *Nostri dñi dñs. Dominici post Resurrectionem* as they have resolved it; which shewes as plainly that they build not the translation of their Sabbath on the same grounds, as our men have done. In briefe, by making up a mixture of a Lords day Sabbath they neither keepe it as the Lords day, nor as the Sabbath. And in this state things stood untill the yeere 1618, what time some of the Ancient holy dayes were revived againe, in the assemblie held at *Perth*: in which, among some other rites of the Church of England which were then admitted, it was thus determined, viz.

As wee abhorre the superstitious observation of festivall dayes by the Papists, and detest all licentious and profane abuse thereof, by the Common sort of Professours: so wee thinke that the inestimable benefits received from God by our Lord Jesus Christ his Birth, Passion, Resurrection, Ascension, and sending downe of the Holy Ghost, was commendably and godly remembred at certaine particular dayes and times by the whole Church of the world, and may bee also now. Therefore the Assembly ordaines, that every Minister shall upon those dayes have the Communion of the faithful inseparabile bene-

DAVISON. p. 20.

Altare Damasc. p. 669.

Jd. 696.

nefis, and make choise of severall and pertinent Texts of Scripture, and frame their Doctrine and Exhortation thereunto, and rebuke all superstitious observation, and licentious prophanation thereof. A thing which much displeased some men, of contrarie perswasion: first, out of feare, that this was but a Preamble, to make way for all the other holy dayes observed in England: And secondly, because it seemed, that these five Dayes were in all points to be observed as the Lords day was, both in the times of the Assembly, and after the dissolving of the same. But pleased, or displeased, so it was decreed; and so still it stands.

(13) But to returne againe to England. It pleased his Majestie now reigning (whom God long preserve) upon information of many notable misdemeanours on this day committed; in his first Parliament, to enact, *That from thenceforwards there should be no meetings, Assemblies, or concourse of people, out of their Parishes, on the Lords day, for any Sports or Pastimes whatsoever; nor any Beare-baitings, Bull-baitings, common Playes, Enterludes, or any other unlawfull Exercises or Pastimes, used by any person or persons, in their owne Parishes: every offence to be punished by the forfeiture of 3. s. 4 d.* This being a *Prohibition Law*, was to continue till the end of the first Session of the next Parliament: And in the next Parliament, it was continued till the end of the first Session of the next, which was then to come. So also was another Act made, in the said last Session, wherein it was enacted, *That no Carrier, Waggoner, Waine-man, Carrer, or Drover, travalle thenceforwards on the Lords day, on paine, that every person and persons so offending, shall lose and forfet 20. s. for every such offence: And that no Butcher, either by himselfe, or any other by his privilege and consent, doe kill or sell any Viuell on the said day; upon the forfeiture and losse of 6. s. 8. d.* Which Statutes being still in force, by reason that there hath not been any Session of Parliament, since they were enacted; many, both

both Magistrates and Ministers, either not rightly understanding, or wilfully mistaking the intent and meaning of the first, brought *Dancing*, and some other *lawfull Recreations*, under the compass of *unlawfull Pastimes*, in that Act prohibited: and therupon disturbed and punished many of the Kings obedient people, onely for using of such Sports as had been authorized by his Majesties Father, of blessed memorie. Nay, which is more, it was so publickly avowed, and printed, by one who had no calling to interprete Lawes, except the provocation of his owne ill spirit, *That Dancing on the Lords day, was an unlawfull Pastime, punishable by the Statute 1. Carol. 1. which intended (so hee saith) to supprese Dancing on the Lords day, as well as Beare-baiting, Bull-beating, Enterludes, and common Playes, which were not then so rife and common, as Dancing, when this Law was made.* Things being at this height, it pleased his excellent Majestie, „ Observing, as hee saith „ himselfe, how much his people were debarred of *Recre- „ ation*, and finding in some Counties, that under the pre- „ tence of taking away abuses, there had beeene a generall „ forbidding, not onely of ordinarie Meetings, but of the „ Feasts of the *Dedication of Churches*, commonly called „ *Wakes*; to ratifie and publish the Declaration of his „ Majesties Father, before remembred: adding, That all „ those Feasts, with others, should be observed; and that „ all neighbourhood and freedome, *with manike and law- „ full Exercises*, be therein used. Commanding all the „ Justices of *Affise*, in their severall Circuits, to see that „ no man doe trouble or molest any of his loyall and duti- „ full people, in or for their *lawfull Recreations*, having „ first done their dutie to God, and continuing in obedi- „ ence unto him and his Lawes: and further, that pub- „ lication thereof be made by order from the Bishops, „ through all the Parishes of their severall Diocesies, re- „ spectively. Thus did it please his excellent and sacred Majestie to publish his most pious and religious purpose, of opening to his loyall people that *liberarie* of the Day, which

King Charles
Declarat.

the Day allowed of; and which all *Christians* States and Churches, in all times before, had never questioned: with all, of shutting up that Doore, whereat no lesse than *Iudaisme* would in fine have entred, and so in time have overran the fairest and most beautifull Church, at this day in Christendome. And certaintely, it was a pious and Princeley Act, nothing inferiour unto that of *Constantine*, or any other Christian King, or Emperour, before remembred: it being no lesse pious, in it selfe considered, to *keepe the holy-dajes* free from *superstition*, than to *preserve them from prophaneness*; especially considering, that *permission of lawfull Pleasures* is no lesse proper to a *Festivall*, than restraint from labour. Nay, of the two, it is more ancient: For in his time, *Tertullian* tells us, that they did *diem solis laetitia indulgere*, devote the *Sunday* partly unto *Mirth and Recreation*, not to *Devotion* altogether; when, in an hundred yeeres after *Tertullians* time, there was no Law or Constitution to restraine men from labour on this day, in the *Christian Church*.

14 Yet did not his most excellent Majestie finde such obedience in some men, and such as should have beeene *ex- „ amples unto their flockes*, as his most Christian purpose did deserve: there being some so settled in the opinion of a *Sabbath day*, a day not heard of in the Church of Christ 40 yeeres agoe, that they chose rather to deprive the Church of their paines, and ministerie, then yeeld unto his Majesties most iust Commands. For whose sakes specially, next to my dutie unto God, my Soveraigne, and the Church my Mother, I have employed my time and studies, to compose this Historie: that they may see therein, in briefe, the practise of Gods Church in the times before them, and frame themselves to doe thereafter; casting aside those errours in the which they are, and walking in the way which they ought to travale. Which way, when all is done, will bec *via Regia, the Kings high way*; as that which is most safe, and of best assurance, because most travailed by Gods people. Our private pathes doe leade us often into errour, and some

sometimes also into danger. And therefore I beseech all those who have offended in that kinde, to lay aside their *passions*, and their *private interests*, if any are that way misguided; as also not to shut their eyes against those truths, which are presented to them for their information: that so the King may have the honour of their due *obedience*; the *Church*, the comfort of their labours, and *conformable ministry*. For to what purpose should they hope, to be ennobled for their sufferings in so bad a cause, that neither hath the *doctrine of the Scripture*, to *authorize* it: or *practise* of the *Church of God*, the best *Expositour* of the *Scripture*, to *confirme* and *countenance* it? or to bee counted constant to their first *Conclusions*, having such *weake* and *dangerous premisses* to support the same; since *constaney* not rightly grounded, is at best but *obstinacy*, and many times doth end in *heresie*. Once againe therefore I exhort them, even in Gods name whose *Ministers* they are and unto whom they are to give up an account of their imployment; and in the Kings Name, whom as Gods *deputie* they are bound to obey, not for *wrath* only but for *conscience* sake; and in the *Churches name*, whose *peace* they are to studie above all things else; and their *owne names* lastly, whom it most concernes, that they desist, and goe not forwards in this *disobedience*, *lest a worse mischiefe fall upon them*. For my part I have done my best, so farre to give them satisfaction in the present point, (so farre forth as the nature of an *Historie* would permit;) as they might thinke it no *disparagement*, to alter their *opinions* and *desert* their *errors*, and *change* their *resolutions*: since in so doing, they shall *conforme* themselves unto the *practise* of Gods *Church*, in all *times* and *Ages*. The greatest *victorie*, which a man can get, is to *subdue* himselfe, and *triumph* over *sinne*, and *er- rour*. I end, as I began, in S. *Augustins* language: *Quibus hoc nimium, vel quibus parum est, mibi ignoscant; quibus sat is est, non mibi, sed Domino mecum congratulantes, gratias agant.* Let such as shall conceive this *Treatise*, to bee too little, or too much, *excuse* my *weakenesse*: And as for those, whom

De Civit. Dei, l.
22. c. 30.

whom it may satisfie in the smallest measure, let them not unto mee, but to God, with mee, ascribe all the honour; to whom belongs all *praise* and *glory* even for ever more.

Pibrac. Quadr. 5.

Ne va disant, ma main a fait cest œuvre.
Ou ma vertu ce bel œuvre a parfaict :
Mais dis ainsi, Dieu par moy l'œuvre a fait :
Dieu est l'Author, du pen de bien que i'œuvre.

| Say not, my hand this Worke to end hath brought,
 Nor, this my vertue hath attain'd unto:
 Say rather thus: this God by mee hath wrought;
 God's Author of the little good I doe.

F I N I S.